

75 CENTS

TIME



**AMERICAN
AND ISRAELI**

INSIDE COLOR:
War in Cambodia - Coronation



New value. Now you have a whole new set of facts to consider in choosing your next van. Ford's new generation of vans creates room and comfort inside, new servicing ease outside. It's a lot of van. Shown with optional Chateau trim, radio, wheel covers, mirrors, whitewall tires, Tu-tone paint.

Ford redesigns the van.

Introducing '75 Ford Econolines with basic advances in room, comfort, durability and all-around usefulness.

A new generation of van value.

New durability

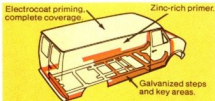
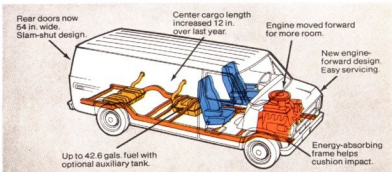
Ford's new 1975 Econoline is a whole new money's worth for the van buyer. Econoline '75 is built differently from any other van. It is solidly put together to keep its value.

Econoline '75 is the only American van to have a separate frame and body. Result: rugged strength...and a solid-feeling ride that tells you a '75 Econoline Van is quality-built throughout.

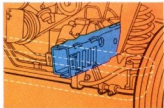
And Ford takes steps against corrosion: key body components of regular vans and Club Wagons are galvanized...and the entire body is primed by a deep-dip electrocoat process for complete coverage.

Durability under the hood: Econoline '75's standard engine is a 300-cu. in. Six, for performance with economy. Big 11-in. clutch. Two V-8 options.

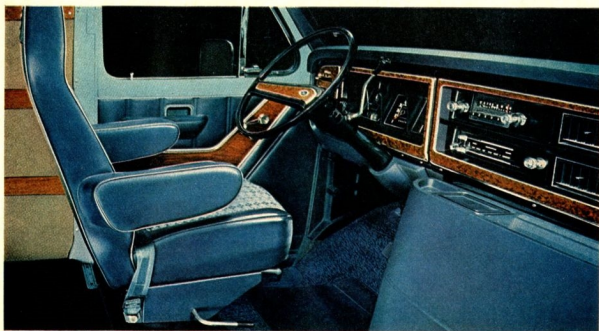
Also standard: Power front disc brakes. Improved Twin-I-Beam front suspension for strength, solid stance, smooth ride. Choice of hinged or sliding side doors. New high-capacity heater.



Ford's anti-corrosion measures promote long life, help protect your investment in the new '75 Ford Econoline.



Energy-absorbing frame rails help cushion front impact...first time on vans.



New comfort. Econoline '75 establishes a new level of van comfort, both for business and personal use. Move-around room for feet and legs is increased over last year... on the passenger side, too. Van interior shown with optional Chateau trim, radio, Captains Chair, air conditioner, automatic transmission.

New comfort

Econoline '75 is a van designed as much for people as for things. Engine is forward, wheelhousings are out of the way, driver area is more spacious. It's easier for the driver to step in and out, to swing into the load area, to step across to the passenger side.

And Ford offers new options to the driver who wants to outfit his van for personal use... such as woodtone effects, cut-pile carpeting, one-way glass in rear doors.

You'll find the Econoline '75 has a new "command" feeling—in ride, in handling ease, in the quiet you get with an out-front, well-insulated engine and vibration-dampening body mounts.



◀ New freedom of movement with engine forward... driver can use either door.

New driving ease starts with Econoline's well-designed instrument panel. New integrated air conditioner/heater system (optional) is built into the dash. ▼



New choices

New power choices: Standard 300-cu. in. Six for performance with economy. Options: 351- or 460-cu. in. V-8. **New model choices:** Regular Vans, wheelbase 124 in. or 138 in., GVW's to 10,000 lbs. Window Vans, Club Wagons, Cutaway chassis, 138- or 158-in. wheelbase, GVW's to 11,000 lbs.

New bigger Parcel Delivery Vans... 12- or 14-ft. bodies, 7 or 8 ft. wide. Mini-motorhome chassis now take bodies to 21 ft. **New options:** Auxiliary fuel tank increases capacity up to 42.6 gals. Auxiliary air conditioning/heater system is sidewall-mounted. One-way glass in rear doors and

Window Van. AM/FM/MPX stereo, radial tires, fingertip Speed Control, Tu-tone exterior paint schemes, front stabilizer bars for improved handling. Compare Econoline '75 with your van. Or any other van. Compare value for your dollar. See your local Ford Dealer!



New '75 Ford Club Wagons. 5-, 8-, 12-passengers. Options include 3 trailer-towing packages.



New Ford Parcel Delivery Vans. Up to 40% more cube than last year. 138-, 158-in. wheelbase.



Mini-motorhome chassis. GVW's to 11,000 lbs. Single or dual rear tires. For bodies to 21 ft.

FORD ECONOLINE VANS

FORD DIVISION



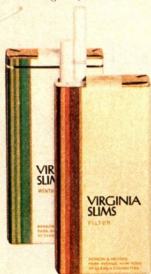


Back in 1910 Mrs. Mullins never understood why her husband wouldn't let her smoke. Mr. Mullins never understood why his wife wouldn't let him install indoor plumbing.

You've come a long way, baby.

VIRGINIA SLIMS

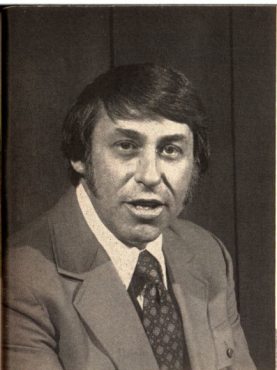
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Earl R. Thompson, Jr., Microbiologist
Connecticut State Dept. of Health, Hartford

"The Dale Carnegie Course made me feel more a part of this world we live in. I learned new ways to work out problems in human relations and this gave me more self-confidence. I used to be hesitant about talking to people, but no more. The Course just helped me become an all-around better person."



Ed Carter, Ass't. Executive Director
Memorial Hospital, Tallahassee, Fla.

"I have a new sense of confidence since taking the Dale Carnegie Course," says Ed Carter. "This comes mostly from my inner abilities that were brought out and developed in the Course—including some that I wasn't aware of. As a result, I am working toward a whole new set of objectives, and that makes everything in life more stimulating to me."

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

"In thy kingdom may the Brahmins be intelligent and wise, the Kshatriyas brave and accomplished bowmen; may cows give large quantities of milk, the bulls carry great weight; may horses be fast and wives chaste..."

In a Katmandu courtyard echoing with these priestly chants, TIME's New Delhi correspondent, James Shepherd, last week witnessed the coronation of Nepal's King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva (see THE WORLD). Shepherd first encountered the elaborate ceremonies of the Hindu kingdom in 1956 at the coronation of Birendra's father, Mahendra. The correspondent arrived for that occasion aboard a rickety DC-3 that "slithered low over the Himalayan foothills, searching for the gap in the mountains through which we slipped into the Katmandu Valley." He has since reported on coronations of two other Himalayan monarchs, the Kings of Bhutan and Sikkim. Over the years, the Shangri-la quality of the mountain kingdoms has been diminished by the encroachment of Western civilization. "The one-room thatched shack that was the airport building at Katmandu's Gauchar Airport is long gone," Shepherd reports, "and the red brick complex that replaced it even has a duty-free shop." Communications, too, have improved, and the remote monarchies have learned the uses of American-style public relations. On this visit Shepherd adds, "The royal press room snowed us with a small library of booklets, leaflets, and news releases."



SHEPHERD IN NEW DELHI



HUGHES IN NEW YORK



BONFANTE IN ROME

The recent theft of three masterworks from the Ducal Palace in Urbino, Italy (see ART), stirred the rage of Time Critic Robert Hughes. Born in Australia, Hughes left home to study painting and sculpture in Italy. While living in the Tuscany region in 1964-65, Hughes learned firsthand the wanton nature of art thieves when they made off with the head of a statue of St. Paul in a church he often visited. Hughes traced the head as far as a "respectable" art dealer in Basel, Switzerland, but it was never returned to the church. Such theft, in his view, is an outgrowth of "the stupendous hyping of art as a blue-chip investment." Not only has promotion made art a prime target for razor-wielding burglars, Hughes argues: "It has also made it impossible for most people under 35 to have an aesthetic experience without considering the price of the works they are looking at."

For his story Hughes drew on reports from Rome Bureau Chief Jordan Bonfante, who provided details about the looting of Italian art. A "dedicated tourist," Bonfante has witnessed the "systematic defoliation of Italian art" for several years, and shares Hughes' view that art thieves "deteriorate our lives. What they are stealing is our collective memory. If it goes on, there will come a day when you will be fingerprinted before you can go into a museum and watched when you are inside by submachine-gun-toting goons."

Ralph P. Davidson

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The Cover: Photo of Henry Kissinger by Salhani—Sygma.

TIME

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TIME is published weekly with one extra issue during May, \$18.00 per year, by Time Inc., 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, IL 60611. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. James R. Shepley, President; Clifford J. Grun, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 103 No. 10 p. 1975 Time Inc. Inc. Printed in the U.S.A. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without permission is prohibited.

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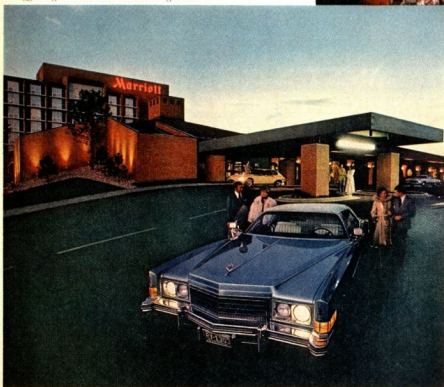
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In 1963, for example, 84% of all preschoolers had three or more doses of polio vaccine. Ten years later the number had plummeted to 60% — which is simply another way of saying that 2 out of every 5 children have not been immunized against polio.

And polio isn't the only childhood disease people seem to be ignoring.

Immunization against diphtheria has been so neglected that not long ago there was an epidemic of it in Texas.

In 1974, reports show there were 57,407 cases of mumps, 22,085 of measles, 94 of tetanus, and 1,758 of whooping cough — all preventable.

What about your children? Are they protected against these diseases?

The best way to make sure is to see your family doctor. He can help you check on which immunizations your children may have missed, and then see that your children get them.

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CINEMA

A Quiet Ending

A BRIEF VACATION
Directed by VITTORIO DE SICA
Screenplay by CESARE ZAVATTINI

It is a small and simple thing, this last film by the late Vittorio De Sica. Clara (Florinda Bolkan) is a poor, feverishly depressed and angry woman, the sole support of a numerous, ne'er-do-well family. One day she collapses in the heat and clamor of the factory, where she works at the hardest but best-paying job. The doctor at the clinic to which she reluctantly reports diagnoses her fever as something more than a metaphor: it is a symptom of tuberculosis. Over the objections of husband and in-laws, she goes to the state-supported sanatorium in the mountains for a rest cure.

The hospital is modern and well managed, as close to a first-class resort as a poor person is ever likely to encounter. The other patients—come in some instances, tragic in others—are all helpful in drawing her out of her anxious reserve. A decent, quiet-spoken young mechanic (Daniel Quenau), who bought her a comforting cup of coffee when they met at the clinic back home, now offers her the possibility of a gentle romance unlike anything she has ever known.

First Night. All of this is good, but no more so than the peace of empty days after a lifetime full of crowded ones. Indeed, the most touching sequence in the film is Clara's first night in the hospital. She wonderingly explores her spacious, airy room, sits down to savor a simple attractive meal in solitude, tucks herself between crisp sheets with nothing but a book for company. The contrast between this thought-provoking silence and the numbing intrusions on her spirit that we have witnessed in the film's opening sections could not be more vividly evoked. In a directorial career devoted largely to exploring the ways poverty assaults dignity (*Shoeshine*, *The Bicycle Thief*, *Umberto D.*), De Sica may have made more forceful statements, but never a more poignant one than he does here with the exquisite assistance of Florinda Bolkan.

Throughout the film there are reminders—the intrusion of her demanding family on her retreat, the sly sexual questing of her doctor, the desperate dreams of escape which she shares with her lover—that for people of Clara's class, even the small grace notes of existence are not something she dares get used to. For her, the pronouncement that she is cured is a kind of death sentence.

Or is it? De Sica, in his old age, allowed himself a note of ambiguity on this point, ending his film with a thoughtful closeup of Clara on the train



BOLKAN IN VACATION
Poignant quest.

bearing her back to reality. It seems just possible that besides restoring her physical health, her brief vacation may also have strengthened her mental balance. The energy formerly burned in impatient rage may possibly be turned outward, in an effort to make a permanent purchase on the modestly decent life she has been permitted to glimpse.

All that is left unclear. But it is certain that De Sica's last collaboration with his old colleague Cesare Zavattini is a wise, delicate and moving work, a worthy ending for an extraordinarily valuable career.

■ Richard Schickel

A Fine Romance

ARTHUR RUBINSTEIN—LOVE OF LIFE
Directed by FRANÇOIS REICHENBACH
and S.G. PATRIS

This is one of those documentaries that get by, not on their own quality but on the richness of their subjects. Arthur Rubinstein is a full bounty, as much a great pianist as a cosmic romantic force. Unhappily, French Co-Director François Reichenbach is a sloppy, indiscriminate documentarian. His last contribution was the scrambled paean to the glories of rock culture, *The Medicine Ball Caravan* (1971). The Rubinstein film betrays the same makeshift style, the same kind of groupie's reverence. It does not serve Rubinstein well, but serving him at all makes the film notable.

Arthur Rubinstein—Love of Life was made for French television in 1968, when its subject was a peppy 81. The movie received an Oscar in 1969, but is



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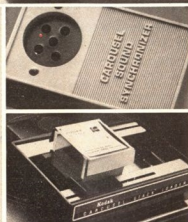
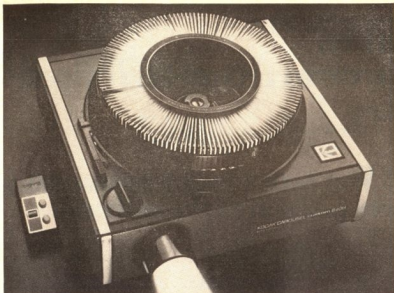
Older people with cleaning problems will find them helpful, too.

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**SNAP ONE OFF—ANOTHER
MOIST TOWELETTE POPS UP**

**WET ONES—
the final step
to personal
cleanliness**



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Chances are, there's a handsome Kodak Carousel projector that has all the features you could want just as it is. Whether it's automatic focus, automatic timing, or remote control.

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Kodak Carousel projectors.



CINEMA

only now showing up in theatrical release, owing largely to distributors' reluctance to handle documentaries on any subjects more serious than the making of a pornographic movie. The biographical material in the film is sketchy. Rubinstein talks about his life in Poland, a youthful suicide attempt thwarted by a weak rope, his first success in Paris, flight to the U.S. If the journalistic material is cursory, though, the music is close to celestial. Rubinstein performs Beethoven, Brahms, a little Villa-Lobos and a Chopin polonaise, whose strength and lofty, rushing romanticism seem emblematic of the man himself.

The compression and immediacy of the camera allow time for reflective watching as well as listening. One notices, for instance, that Rubinstein's ears are large and prominent, as if to accommodate more music. When he plays in a short-sleeved shirt, the muscles of his forearms seem to move in rhythm. His face is marked in performance by both intense concentration and the graces and passions of the melody. He is always a showman who does everything with panache—watch him put on one of his rakish fedoras, brim snapped up and cunningly creased down wide in front, the whole hat and the movement of his hand over his head a study in easy, unashamed flamboyance.

But the best moment in the movie is Rubinstein's most private one. He visits Israel's memorial to the Nazi holocaust. More than one hundred members of his family had been killed by Hitler, and the camera moves in for a tight closeup of his reaction. Rubinstein, simply and without show, turns his back and, as the camera pursues him, walks



RUBINSTEIN IN LIFE
Celestial sounds.

CINEMA

away, keeping his face averted until he has composed himself. In this short scene, we get a sense not only of the passion but the deep dignity from which such a great talent is born and nurtured.

■ Joy Cocks

Pieces of Dreams

JANIS

Directed by HOWARD ALK
and SEATON FINDLAY

This is another film portrait of a musician. It is a different kind of music, however, and a very different life.

Janis Joplin, the subject of this willfully empty-headed documentary, died of an overdose of heroin in 1970 in a Hollywood motel room, all alone. There is no sense whatsoever in this film of the loneliness and desolation that could have led to such an end; indeed, there is no mention at all of her death, not even the fact of it. Instead, we are presented with a lot of concert footage and some spliced-in interviews, mostly gathered from old television spots. Joplin reveals as much of herself as most people do under the flighty scrutiny of a TV interviewer—nothing.

The film makers were at pains to include footage in which Joplin talks about "feeling good." She comes off like Little Miss Goodvibes, a wild flower of the love generation who wilted for reasons unspecified. Far worse than being merely sentimental, *Janis* is dishonest, dishonoring her talent by dismissing the personal turmoil that underscored it.

Home Again. One of the few telling and truthful moments in the film occurs during a press conference in Port Arthur, Texas, the home town Joplin despised and always tried to conquer. On this occasion, Joplin had returned for her tenth high school reunion ("They laughed me out of the state," she announced on a Dick Cavett show, "and now I'm goin' back"). The questions the local press cooked up were trite—was Janis happy in school? Did she get invited to the prom? But her answers, out of the direct pressures of the circumstances, were without artifice and painful.

Janis does provide one other valuable service. For everyone who thought her singing pushed too hard, who turned off Joplin because of the brazen way she went after an audience, this movie will make clear how deeply she needed that kind of wild acceptance. When Janis talked about feeling good, it always came out forced. When she sang, though, people responded, not so much to the exultation of her music as to the plea and the desperation that lay close underneath it all. Twice in the film—after performances at the Monterey Festival and a Cavett show—we watch her receive stops-out acclimat with hungry thanks and with a look of full radiance. Joplin's misfortune was that she lived so hard just for those moments.

■ J.C.

Latest
U.S. Gov't report shows:

Iceberg 100's lowest in tar of all menthol 100's.



Iceberg 100's

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

8 mg. "tar", 0.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Oct. '74.

AMERICAN NOTES

Biting the Bullet

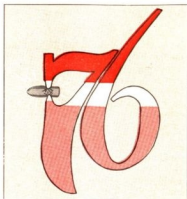
With times bad and getting worse, the administrators of Virginia's Arlington County proposed a bare-bones austerity budget for fiscal 1976. The trash-collection service would be curtailed and school expenditures slashed by \$2 million. Transit fares would go up, and more parking meters would be installed. It was an unpalatable offering, so the budgeteers quite naturally began looking for a symbol to help sell the package to the public as well as to the county board, the body that must give final approval. Right now, the biting-the-bullet emblem that resulted (*see cut*) could well serve as the insignia for every American organization from the Boy Scouts to the Federal Government.

Cowing the Computer

The National Weather Service uses all the ingenuity of science to forecast sun or rain including satellite pictures of storm patterns and complex computer print-outs. On the other hand, a three-year-old 1,400-lb. cow named Bramer trusts more to instinct. When she senses that bad weather is coming the next day, she beds down in her straw-lined stall in Huntsville, Texas. When something tells her that a sunny day is due on the morrow, she ventures forth to graze, even if the weather at that moment is drizzly.

Noting his cow's peculiar talents, Farmer John McAdams decided to match Bramer's predictions against those of the Houston Weather Service.

FORECASTER BRAMER & FARMER McADAMS



SYMBOL FOR TOUGH TIMES

which he felt rarely knew when to come in out of the rain. The Huntsville *Item*, a thrice-weekly newspaper, agreed to serve as scorekeeper. For every correct prediction, cow and computer receive one point. For every mistake, each is docked a point.

So far, it has been no contest. With the competition set to run until March 28, Bramer last week held a 19-to-8 lead over the computer. "It's just the instinct for protection," McAdams explained. "Animals aren't so dumb as people make them out to be. They just can't talk. And if you watch them closely enough, they do sort of talk."

"The Loyal Opposition"

It is past time we ceased to apologize for an imperfect democracy. Find its equal. It is time we grew out of our initial—not a little condescending—super-sensitivity about the feelings of new nations.

So urges Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who returned recently to Harvard after two years as U.S. Ambassador to India. In the March issue of *Commentary*, he calls on the U.S. to adopt a tougher stance toward the Third World. He exonerates Americans for an "extraordinarily passive, even compliant" policy that tries—but fails—to appease the developing nations by remaining silent when Third World leaders blame the West for famine and poverty.

Moynihan says the world majority is now composed of nations that share a Socialist but not a Communist ideology, and a vested interest in blaming the West for their shortcomings and failures. The U.S. should therefore act as "the new [world] society's loyal opposition" and go on the offensive in three

areas: 1) "forcefully" broadcast the achievements of Western liberalism such as the multinational corporation—"arguably the most creative international institution of the 20th century"; 2) assert that "inequalities in the world may be not so much a matter of condition as of performance," citing Brazil, Nigeria, Singapore and other Third World success stories; 3) compare the political and civil liberties that the Third World countries "provide their own people [and] those which are common and taken for granted in the U.S."

Only by taking such a belligerent stand, writes Moynihan, can the U.S. "seek common cause with the new nations" and hope to reach a relationship "at the level of principle."

Blooding the New Boy

After three decades in public life, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller has a well-earned reputation as a shrewd, tough, skillful operator. But when he was sworn in as Vice President, Rockefeller also became the presiding officer of the U.S. Senate, and the moment he entered that historic chamber he was, as he frankly admitted, the new boy on the block.

Last week the new boy got bloodied, but he gave nearly as good as he got. During a convoluted debate about changing the rules on cloture—the power to stop filibusters—Alabama's pro-filibuster Senator James Allen rose to say: "Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry." Traditionally, the presiding officer gives Senators a chance to speak their piece, but Rockefeller ignored Allen, even though the Senator twice more raised his cry.

Shocked conservatives from both parties laced into Rockefeller. "Is this still the Senate of the United States?" Louisiana's Russell Long demanded. Said Arizona's Barry Goldwater: "I never thought I would see the day when the chair would take advantage."

Frantically, the Senate's parliamentarian whispered to the glowering Vice President, "Stay out of it—stay out of it!" Rockefeller replied with a growl: "I'm not going to take this from anybody. I'm going to explain my position." He did, but that only made matters worse. No Senator could remember a presiding officer who had ever intruded into a Senate debate.

Despite the furor he had stirred, Rockefeller said later that in similar circumstances he might plunge into the fray again. The U.S. Senate has obviously not heard the last of the new boy.



THE ADMINISTRATION

Trying to Avert a Collision

During a two-day visit to Florida last week, Gerald Ford took time out for 18 holes of golf in the Jackie Gleason Inverrary Classic tournament in Lauderhill. After flubbing shots in several sand traps, plunking one ball into a small pond, and missing putts all over the place, the President lamented that he was not doing very well. "About as well as you are doing with Congress?" one reporter asked. Replied Ford: "I'm going to do better with both."

Not necessarily. On the links, Ford ended up with a duffer's score of 100. Nor did he do notably better in trying to persuade Congress to go along with his proposals on a wide range of issues, from foreign policy (see following story) to tax reductions and energy conservation. The major fight was over Ford's three-stage, \$3-per-bbl. hike in the tariff on imported oil. Congress had voted to postpone the hike for 90 days, and Ford had promised to veto the legislation. But to prevent the Senate from overriding the veto, he had to persuade four Senators to switch to his side.

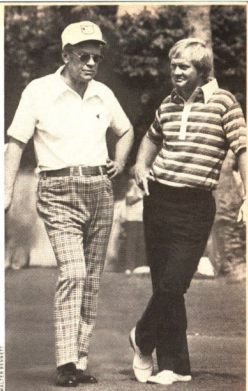
Failed Strategy. Ford offered to let gasoline absorb most of the price increase in hopes of winning support from Eastern Republicans, who feared that the increase would send their constituents' heating bills soaring because the region depends so heavily on imported oil. But Ford was unwilling to go as far as some of them demanded. New York Senator Jacob Javits, for example, insisted that 80% of the burden of any price hike fall on gasoline. Moreover, Ford's offer upset Western Senators, whose constituents drive long distances and are most concerned about how Ford's program will affect the price of gasoline.

Ford also hoped to talk some conservative Southern Democrats into

changing their votes. That strategy failed for a totally unanticipated reason: the conservatives' outrage over the intrusion of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller into the fight over making it easier to cut off Senate filibusters. Although Ford discussed the issue with Rockefeller, he was not directly involved in the Vice President's actions. One Administration lobbyist concluded that "a lot of conservatives are inclined to take out their frustrations on the President." At one point in the Senate debate, Louisiana Democrat Russell Long reddened with anger and declared: "I thought that I was going to help this Administration when possible. But I have grave doubts about any Administration that would countenance this sort of thing."

At week's end seven Democratic congressional leaders sat down with Ford in the Cabinet Room of the White House to propose a face-saving compromise. They hinted rather broadly that they were willing to let his veto stand in exchange for a 60-day delay of two-thirds of the tariff increase—the \$1 per bbl. that took effect at the end of last week and the \$1 scheduled for April 1. Ford would be left, however, with the \$1 boost that took effect on Feb. 1. He promised to decide by early this week whether to accept a compromise or press on with the showdown over the veto.

The Democrats' objective in the tariff fight was to gain time to bargain with the President on comprehensive energy legislation. As an alternative to the President's program, Democrats last week proposed a plan that would raise the federal gasoline tax from the present 4¢ to 9¢ per gal. and give rebates to buyers of fuel-efficient cars (see *ECONOMY & BUSINESS*). Ford said that the Democrats' recommendations could "possibly be



FORD GOLFING WITH JACK NICKLAUS



KISSING A YOUNG ADMIRER



MISSING A PUTT

THE NATION

meshed with ours"—a sign that he agreed with Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who said of the President: "He can't carry the day alone. Neither can we. He's not an obdurate man; he's flexible. He's thrown out hints."

Indeed, in a speech in Hollywood, Fla., Ford backed off from his previous description of the oil-tariff boost as the linchpin of his program. Instead, he called the increase "an administrative action taken solely for the purpose of forcing the Congress to act." Just as pointedly, he softened his criticism of Congress, not delivering in the Florida speech his prepared remarks declaring that by failing to move swiftly Congress was pursuing a "course [that] could lead America to disaster."

Russian Roulette. Ford, however, may have occasion to dust off that accusation and hurl it at Congress before too long. Despite the need for fast action, liberal Democrats in the House last week ensured a prolonged fight over a tax bill. Their leaders were ready to spend through both chambers a \$21.3 billion tax reduction—\$5.3 billion more than the amount requested by Ford and more heavily weighted in favor of lower-income groups. But the young Democrats insisted on adding an amendment to repeal the oil-depletion allowance that would save the oil industry some \$2.5 billion this year in taxes and has long been a favorite—and, until now, well-nigh invulnerable—target for congressional liberals. The amended bill passed the House by the enormous margin of 317 to 97. In the Senate, however, the oil-depletion amendment is certain to set off a long and acrimonious fight that might delay the tax cut until mid-April or even longer.

The action infuriated House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman. Said he: "This is a serious tactical mistake. We are really playing Russian roulette with our own careers. What the people want is decisive leadership. Depletion is not even germane to this bill." If Congress is still wrangling over a tax measure in May, agreed another Democrat, "the President will be kicking our brains out."

With official Washington tangled in the machinations over taxes and oil, it was understandable if Ford sometimes thought about retiring instead of running for election next year. One day last week he reminded close associates that while still in Congress he had promised his wife Betty that they would return permanently to Grand Rapids in 1976. If Ford was serious, he had not passed the word to Rockefeller, who forcefully told reporters that "the President is bound to run" in 1976. But even Ford's associates did not take his remarks as final, only as the rather wistful musings of a President engaged in a frustrating fight to get his program through a Congress overwhelmingly controlled by the other party.

THE CONGRESS

Diplomacy Begins at Home

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was off on a new round of shuttle diplomacy last week. The distances covered on this peacemaking mission were unusually short: the two miles between the State Department Building in Foggy Bottom and the Capitol across Washington, D.C. But the gap between the two institutions was enormous, and the task as delicate as on many of his overseas travels. Kissinger was determined to establish some kind of détente with the U.S. Congress and thus preserve his effectiveness as the architect of American foreign policy.

There was little time to lose. Rumors were floating round Washington that Kissinger was fed up with fighting Congress and thinking of quitting. Reports of Kissinger's imminent departure have become "an annual story," notes the subject, but last week a leading Democratic Senator who has generally backed the Secretary sadly predicted that Kissinger's days were numbered.

The rumors seemed to gain added substance last week when some English newsmen leaked a conversation they had had with Elliot Richardson just before his swearing in as Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Richardson said he thought that the odds were fifty-fifty that the Secretary would resign before the end of the year, depending upon the strain of the job and how much Kissinger felt he was being undercut by Congress. Richardson added that he thought he had a 2-to-1 chance of becoming the next Secretary of State.

When Kissinger swore Richardson in as ambassador only a few days after the story was printed, the Secretary covered the awkwardness with some urbane jokes that were received with nervous laughter by the assembled group. Richardson says that Kissinger did indeed tell him that he would be his personal choice to become the next Secretary of

State. But Kissinger also told a press conference last week that he had no intention of quitting. "That is a decision," he said, "that has to be made largely by the President."

Ford appears to have no intention of forcing out the Secretary. At a press conference last week, he said that he knew of "no plans of any kind whatsoever, on my part or his part, to change the very heavy and important responsibilities that he has."

Barely a year ago, Kissinger stood out as the one prominent survivor in an Administration dragged down by Watergate. His prestige may have been inflated, but he had laid the groundwork for détente with the Soviet Union and relations with China, worked out the details to end U.S. involvement in the Viet Nam War and acted as the professional peace keeper in the Middle East. Since then he has suffered a spate of setbacks:

1) Congress passed the so-called Jackson Amendment making a new trade agreement with the Soviet Union contingent upon the Kremlin's easing of its emigration rules. In addition, Congress infuriated and humiliated the Kremlin by putting a low ceiling of \$300 million on credits that could be automatically advanced to the Soviets. As a result, Russia called off the trade deal with the U.S.

2) Congress barred Venezuela and Ecuador from receiving preferential tariffs because of their membership in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. By so doing, Kissinger feels, Congress hindered his attempt to shore up U.S. relations with Latin America.

3) Congress cut off military aid to Turkey after that country had invaded and occupied Cyprus.

Some legislators have been making Kissinger their favorite whipping boy. Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen raps Kissinger for trying to conduct foreign pol-

RICHARDSON WITH KISSINGER AFTER BEING SWORN IN AS AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN



icy "from a jet plane circling over a Middle East airport." New York Senator Jacob Javits objects to "the theory that the department is omniscient and we are the defectives." Says Democratic Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal of New York: "Kissinger prefers to deal with great men and world leaders, partly because it makes for better history writing. But he must deal with Congress because we reflect the will of the American people." Worries that he might be leaning too hard on Israel to make concessions in negotiations with the Arabs

have contributed to the atmosphere (see cover story page 14).

In recent months, Kissinger has also come under sharp attack from foreign policy experts, some of whom would no doubt relish the opportunity to exchange places with him. Kissinger's style of personal diplomacy is much more vulnerable to attack than his policies, which are much harder to fault. But the Secretary is open to criticism for the way he handled the Cyprus issue. When the Greek junta deposed Archbishop Makarios, the Cypriot lead-

er, and replaced him with Nikos Sampson, Kissinger seemed to acquiesce by his silence, though he later called Sampson "a thug." When the Turks then invaded to protect the Turkish minority on Cyprus, Kissinger again failed to protest. Finally, Kissinger was caught off guard by Congress's cutting off arms shipments to Turkey. Turkey has since threatened to pull out of NATO. Kissinger bitterly fought the arms embargo, arguing that it would not only harm Turkish-American relations but make the Turks less likely to negotiate about the future of Cyprus.

Visibly Shaken. Kissinger has recently been making a sincere effort to win back his support on Capitol Hill. To show the importance he now attaches to State-congressional relations, Kissinger made Ambassador-at-Large Robert McCloskey, one of his most respected deputies, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations (see box).

While trying to build up good will, Kissinger has not given up the effort to sell his policies. Fighting hard for the resumption of arms aid to Turkey, Kissinger and Ford briefed Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott on the chaos that would result for the U.S. and NATO if Congress did not rescind the cutoff. Mansfield, who was said by one congressional staffer to be "visibly shaken," quickly joined Scott in working out strong bipartisan support in the Senate for the resumption of arms shipments. But the House still remained opposed.

On Cambodia, Kissinger warned that if \$222 million is not voted within the next few weeks, a Communist takeover is virtually certain (see THE WORLD). But leaders on the Hill passed the word to the Secretary that the request would not be met. Kissinger has another and even more important battle with Congress coming up: the Administration's request for an extra \$300 million to buy arms for South Viet Nam.

Understandably, Kissinger was looking forward to his return this week to the Middle East and one possibly final try at working out a lasting settlement between the Israelis and the Arabs. The Secretary nowadays is much more confident on the road than in Washington. Crowds gather in hotel lobbies to applaud his entrance. Heads of state trust him and welcome the very personal, secretive brand of diplomacy that is under attack at home.

However his Middle Eastern diplomacy turns out, there are plenty of other challenges lying ahead to make Kissinger want to stay on as Secretary of State. The SALT talks are now taking place in Geneva, and the Soviet Union's Leonid Brezhnev is still scheduled to visit the U.S. this summer for a summit meeting with President Ford. In the meantime, with an unfriendly Congress to woo, the Secretary of State realizes that his most delicate diplomacy may have to be performed right in his own backyard.



ROBERT MCCLOSKEY, KISSINGER'S NEWLY APPOINTED ENVOY TO CAPITOL HILL

Someone to Talk Back to the Boss

The man who is leading Henry Kissinger's campaign to get back into the good graces of a skeptical and even hostile Congress made his reputation by skillfully handling an equally difficult group. From 1964 until 1973, Robert J. McCloskey, 52, had the unenviable task of serving as the spokesman for the State Department. Day after day, it was his job to meet the press and explain the U.S. position on Viet Nam.

McCloskey accomplished the task with such candor, clarity, diligence and dry humor that he became one of the truly rare Administration officials to emerge from the Viet Nam ordeal with his name not only intact but enhanced. When he left to become U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus in May 1973, McCloskey was given a dinner by the National Press Club. Peter Lisagor, the crusty Washington bureau chief of the Chicago Daily News, declared at the time: "It is just plain remarkable that a public affairs official could be so esteemed."

When the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war broke out, Kissinger recalled McCloskey to act as State's spokesman. Last week was McCloskey's first as Kissinger's ambassador to Capitol Hill, a

job described by an aide to the Secretary as "one of the toughest in Washington right now." "He won't have much to tell us," says Democratic Senator Adlai Stevenson III. "But if he's tough and honest, he may have an opportunity to tell his boss a thing or two."

McCloskey's job will be to explain Congress to Kissinger and vice versa. He will be running an early warning system that will try to resolve potential conflicts before they explode into bitter confrontations.

With his lean good looks, impeccable tailoring and unflappable poise, McCloskey seems the very model of a Brahmin born to wear striped pants. But McCloskey has worked as a bartender and a newsmen and fought as a Marine during World War II.

On occasion, McCloskey's hot Irish temper has proved a match for Kissinger's shouting, fist-slaming outbursts. That undiplomatic trait may stand McCloskey in good stead when he tries to tell his boss a thing or two about dealing with a Congress that is determined, as they say on the Hill, to be in on the takeoffs of U.S. foreign policy as well as the crash landings.



FOREIGN POLICY/COVER STORY

AMERICAN JEWS AND ISRAEL

"Are you more hopeful about a Middle East settlement now than you were a month ago?" The question was asked at a kind of political rap session held last week in the Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington in Rockville, Md. The leader was Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee's capital office. The participants were 65 mostly middle-aged, upper-middle-class Jews who gather with him each month. Lately the discussion has been chiefly about Israel and its prospects for peace and survival. Bookbinder watched carefully as slowly, hesitantly, one hand after another was raised until a clear majority signified yes.

The cautious vote of confidence was based on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's latest diplomatic foray into the Middle East. The participants were well informed. They knew that another Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai seemed in the making, in exchange for a declaration of non-belligerency in some form from Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Yet the group was uneasy. Asked a woman: "But what will Sadat's successor do? Will he honor an agreement?" Replied Bookbinder: "Perfidy is always possible, but we cannot live on the basis that an adversary may not live up to an agreement."

Later he said: "There is no erosion of support for Israel in the polls or in Congress. Yet there is talk of erosion of support for Israel. I think it's a feeling of impatience, of wanting progress."

Bookbinder probed deeper. If Congress cut off aid to South Viet Nam, he asked, might that endanger the solidity of U.S. commitments to any nation, including Israel? "That's crap," insisted a booming voice in a corner. "Israel is different from Viet Nam." On moral

grounds? Yes, but the group also groped to define the harder, geopolitical reasons why the U.S. needs Israel as an ally in the Middle East. Finally one man said: "We have to convince others that the interests of Israel remain basic to the interests of the American people because Israel is a free democracy." Bookbinder agreed, observing as the group dispersed: "As Jews, we've learned never not to worry."

American Jews are indeed worried today, worried about Israel's future. They know that if Kissinger achieves the second stage of disengagement, the move will involve concessions by both sides; but they fear that the concessions made by Jerusalem will be more important than those made by Cairo. They well know that all this follows a Kissinger campaign in

which he seriously warned the Israelis (and the U.S. Jewish community) against being too rigid. Above all, it is plain that the next step down the road will be far more hazardous. The Geneva Conference is likely to be reconvened, and it will almost certainly raise the issues of the Golan Heights, the Palestinians, the West Bank, Jerusalem—on none of which the Israelis so far show any sign of flexibility. What worries Jews—and by no means Jews alone—is what might be asked of Israel by the U.S. in later rounds of bargaining.

Thus a number of questions hover in the air: Is American support for Israel weakening? What happens if U.S. interests and Israeli interests, which have always seemed to coincide in the past, should diverge? Has Jewish influence in the U.S. become an obstacle to U.S. foreign policy?

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This puts us squarely into the service business: doing things for people. Naturally, we've learned a lot about it. And, it boils down to three simple truths: We give you good service. We give it to you at a reasonable cost. We stand behind it.

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Transamerica Insurance and 29 other services.



ILLINOIS SENATOR PERCY VISITING SADAT IN CAIRO
It matters where and how some things are said.

U.S. support, it is unlikely that Israel would have been created out of British-controlled Palestine in 1948. Without U.S. aid and contributions from U.S. Jews, it would not have survived. Though there have been differences about tactics and policies, the U.S. Government and people have never wavered in firm support of Israel's right to exist and its ability to defend itself against the hostile Arab countries that surround it. It has been one of the few uncritically accepted constants of U.S. foreign policy in the postwar era—and it has sometimes puzzled foreign leaders. Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin put it directly to Lyndon Johnson when he met the President at Glassboro, N.J., in 1967. Asked Kosygin: "I don't understand you Americans backing Israel. There are 80 million Arabs* and only 3 million Israelis. It does not make sense. Why do it?" Replied Johnson: "Because it is right."

Most Americans still feel that way, and U.S. policy remains consistent, if not automatic, in its basic support of Israel. But there has been a marked change in the public atmosphere and diplomatic stance. One cause for this is the Arab discovery of the use of oil as a weapon, which began with the Arab embargo during the 1973 Middle East war and culminated in the fourfold increase in the world oil price. The effect has been to make Israel's enemies vastly richer and more powerful, while severely taxing the economies—and therefore the loyalties—of its friends.

The U.S. was also impressed by other facts. The Egyptians and Syrians fought well, at least in the early phases of the 1973 war, destroying the myth of inevitable Israeli victory. Arab nations were finally able to form a common front, destroying the myth of inevitable Arab disunity. The diminution of the cold war made Israel's role as a bastion of U.S. influence in the Middle East seem less vital to U.S. interests. Belatedly, the Arabs discovered public relations and began to cultivate U.S. opinion. For all of these reasons, Americans paid more attention to the area's problems than ever before and began to examine the Arab cause more sympathetically. Partly because of their continued insistence on security through territory, the Israelis suddenly seem intransigent to many people. The perception comes at a time when, globally, Israel is increasingly isolated. The nations of Western Europe appear willing to bargain away Israel's security in return for access to Arabian oil. Arab petropower seems aimed at blacklisting Jews from many transactions in international finance, causing President Gerald Ford last week sharply to condemn such practices (see *ECONOMY & BUSINESS*). Last fall UNESCO voted to exclude Israel from some of its activities, and the United Nations General Assembly applauded

*The Premier was a little off: at the time the population of the Arab countries was 110 million. Today it is 125 million.

THE NATION

the Palestine Liberation Organization's Yasser Arafat, who frankly spoke at the U.N. of generations of war against Israel, as a legitimate spokesman for Palestinians.

In this atmosphere, minor and major events are seen as portents. Kissinger jokingly tries on an Arab headdress in Jordan; to some Jews this symbolizes his wooing of the Arabs (and because he himself is Jewish, he is believed by some other Jews to be bending over backward to demonstrate his impartiality). General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declares that there is strong Jewish-Israeli influence on Congress (true) and that Jews dominate most U.S. banks and newspapers (false). The simplistic statement is seen as a harbinger of anti-Semitism. There is also alarm when such longtime friends of Israel as Senators Charles Percy and Henry Jackson dare to urge Israel to be flexible.

Says Newton Minow, former head of the FCC: "I sense a reappraisal is now being made by Americans generally, and I sense a confusion on the part of American Jews about what it all means." Says Brandeis University President Marver Bernstein: "From a Jewish point of view, the danger is that the sentiment in favor of Israel is now counteracted by declining guilt over the Holocaust and an increased sympathy for the Palestinians. And we are under great pressures of both military and economic policy that we were not under before." Says Myron Kolatch, executive editor of the *New Leader*: "How do most Americans feel about the Catholic-Protestant civil war in Ireland? My guess would be 'A plague on both your houses.' And that's probably how most Americans are getting to feel about Israel and its Arab neighbors."

President Ford's in-house professor, Robert Goldwin, serves as liaison man with the Jewish community. "The more extreme view expressed," he says, "is that the world is turning against Jews and is willing to sacrifice them up. The more common view is that there is some loss of support for Israel that for a very long time Jews have relied upon." In December, Ford received a delegation of Jewish leaders and tried to reassure them of the U.S. commitment. The message has not yet filtered down. Says Goldwin: "There is a deep concern that support for Israel isn't sufficiently fervent."

This change of mood has produced some alarmist rhetoric. In his book *American Jews: Community in Crisis*, Gerald S. Strober, a former staff member of the American Jewish Committee, predicts that current trends will make "life rather unpleasant for the individual Jew" in America, and that U.S. Jews are now entering "the most perilous period" in their history. Author and Playwright Elie Wiesel, survivor of Nazi concentration camps, claimed, in the *New York Times*, that for the first time he could "foresee the possibility of Jews being massacred in the cities of America or in the forests of Europe" because of "a certain climate, a certain mood in the making." According to Author Cynthia Ozick, writing in *Esquire*, Israel's survival is in grave doubt, and with it Zionism and thus all Jews. "The Jews are one people... you cannot separate parent from child, the Jews from Zion."

Most American Jews pitch their worries in lower tones. Political Scientist Hans Morgenthau, an early critic of U.S. Viet Nam policy, sees the possibility of a new Arab oil embargo and the U.S.'s forcing Israel to accept peace terms that fall short of guaranteeing its survival. "Are we going to allow Western Europe and Japan to go down the drain to support Israel?" Morgenthau wonders. Other observers find a distinct decline in what one study calls "the new and hard-won status of American Jewry—which by the early '60s had virtually reached a point of ludicrous enchantment with all things Jewish." If an Arab oil squeeze further deepens the U.S. economic recession, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, fears that the interests of both Israel and American Jews will suffer. He warns: "When people are out of work and hungry, they get angry; they start looking for scapegoats."

It is hard to say just how widespread such fears are. A great many American Jews, perhaps a majority, hardly worry about their own condition in the U.S. They know that Jews have never done better in America (see box page 24).

MAKE IT WITH

Muddle $\frac{1}{2}$ cube sugar
in glass with dash
bitters and splash club
soda. Add ice
and one jigger
I.W. Harper Bourbon.
Add $\frac{1}{2}$ orange slice
and cherry.

Now, enjoy
the smoothest,
best tasting
Old-Fashioned
ever built.



I.W. HARPER



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All things mechanical, like all things human, require a little tender loving care from time to time.

There is no such thing as a maintenance-free car, and chances are there never will be.

But we're getting closer.

Have you heard about Chevrolet's new "Efficiency System," and what it does for the 1975 Camaro?



For openers, quicker starts.

Well, for example, you know how tough it can be to get your car humming on cold or humid mornings, and how that kind of hassle can affect your whole day.

Now Camaro has a new solid-state ignition system which produces a spark 85% hotter than with a conventional system, so your car should really come alive in a hurry.

It's called High Energy Ignition, and there are other things you're going to like about it, too.



The first "pointless" Camaro.

With HEI (our nickname for High Energy Ignition), there are no points to replace.

There is no ignition condenser to replace.

And your spark plugs should keep on plugging for up to 22,500 miles.



That should simplify your life a little.

And save you a few bucks, too.



Up to 7,500 miles between oil changes.

Maybe you're too young to remember, but cars used to require oil changes and chassis lube every thousand miles or two.

Which was a lot of aggravation, keeping track, taking your car in, waiting around.

We've come a long way. This year we're recommending oil changes and grease jobs every six months, or 7,500 miles.

We're recommending that you change your oil filter after the first 7,500 miles, then every 15,000 miles thereafter.

Air filters will last longer, so will transmission fluid.



You asked about mileage?

We're glad.

Because we're proud.

In spite of the fact that Camaro is not an economy car, it's really quite an economical car.

In the published 1975 EPA mileage tests, a Camaro with the standard 6-cylinder engine got 16 miles to the gallon in the city test, and 21 miles to the gallon in the highway test.

With the standard 350-2 V8, the figures were 14 mpg city test, and 19 mpg in the highway test.

Not bad.

Not bad at all.



Not just a ride: A lift.

All that heavy stuff aside, we want to remind you one more time that Camaro's main appeal is in the way it looks and the way it moves.

It's a car you can feel good about just looking at it. And when you get it out on the road, well...

Why don't you get it out on the road? Test-drive a 1975 Camaro, and while you're at it, have your present car appraised. You might be surprised how much it will bring as a trade-in right now.

Your Chevy dealer is the man to see.

He won't hassle you.

**CHEVROLET
MAKES SENSE
FOR AMERICA**

Chevrolet



Rabbi James Rudin of New York City echoes other slogans of ethnic pride: "Jewish is beautiful. Jews in America are now well integrated into society, but a sense of self is considerably stronger." There is, however, some concern about a heightened sense of "double identity." Speaking not only of Jewish Americans but of Italian Americans and other ethnic groups, Chicago Psychiatrist Robert Gronner declares that "it is always difficult to have a double identity."

Does double identity, to the extent that it exists, mean double loyalty? American Jews find the very phrase offensive and wrong, because it implies some future crisis when they might be forced to choose between their native allegiance to the Stars and Stripes and their complex devotion to the blue and white Star of David, Israel's flag. Most American Jews do not believe that such an agonizing choice will ever be necessary; if it were, they have no doubt that they would act as Americans.

Moreover, American Jews are far from monolithic, even in their support of Israel. Anti-Zionist Jews are only a tiny minority today, as are the pro-Arab Jewish radicals who emerged in the '60s. Still, individual Jews have questioned Israeli policies. Some have criticized the Israelis' wisdom in occupying Arab lands for so long after the 1967 war and in not trying harder to make a land-for-peace deal. Others deplore Israel's treatment of Arabs in occupied territories.

But there is no doubt that the Jewish position is different from that of other ethnic minorities. The latter retain strong bonds with their mother countries for which they rally support (see California Congressman Thomas Rees:

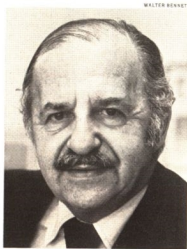
"Look what the Greeks did here during the Cyprus situation"). But no other foreign power is so crucially situated in the world today, or has comparably strong emotional claims on an American minority, as is the case with Israel and American Jews.

Part of the reason lies in the historic uniqueness of Ju-

daism, which is not merely a nationality, or a race, or a culture, or a religion, but an inextricable mixture of all these. No other ethnic group has a religion that is so centered, in its very rituals and prayers, on a particular land. Many American Jews have long worried about the "crisis of freedom"; being freer in the U.S. than in any other country in history, with government, the professions and all walks of life open to them, the concern was that Jews would forget their traditions and simply merge with the population. Where the ghetto served to preserve Judaism, it was feared the American suburb might subtly undermine it. Since World War II, the spectacle of Israel—brave, threatened, struggling for survival

against heavy odds—did much to avert this danger and became a strong source of American Jewish consciousness and identity. The 1967 war, with its stunning display of Israeli military prowess, made Jews elsewhere both proud and aware of Israel's vulnerability. Finally, the 1973 war and the Arabs' initial successes tapped emotional springs of agony and empathy for Israel's fate that many American Jews were surprised to find they possessed.

For all that, American Jews are so American that their participation in Israel's fate has been mainly vicarious. Contributions, yes, on an astonishing scale of more than \$4 billion over the years, principally raised and funneled through the United Jewish Appeal (see box below). But from 1948 to 1968, only 8,800 of America's Jewish population (now 6 million) emigrated to Israel, and a majority of those changed their minds and returned to the U.S. Since then, in the peak year of 1971 some 7,800 American Jews emigrated, but the rate dropped sharply after the 1973 war to only 3,400 last year. That war also cut into American tourism to Israel—down from 281,000 in 1972 to scarcely over 200,000 last year. Only the rate of those Americans, mostly young, going to work for a time on kibbutzim has increased since the war; the number



LOBBYIST MORRIS J. AMITAY

WALTER BENNETT

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A GUIDE TO THE GROUPS

U.S. Jews are not notably more pro-life joiners than other Americans, but for those who wish to do so, there are more than 300 national Jewish organizations and countless local federations and societies eager to welcome them. The groups have diverse aims, many appealing to particular religious, nationality and age groups within American Jewry. Among the better-known organizations are those devoted to philanthropic fund raising, support of Israel and combating prejudice. The most influential include:

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (UJA). Founded in 1939, it is probably the most successful nongovernmental money-raising organization in the world. Thousands of volunteers annually help it solicit donations for humanitarian aid to Israel from other Jewish groups, local federations and individuals. Partly in response to the Yom Kippur War, the UJA raised \$828 million in cash and pledges in 1973 and \$897 million last year.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. Established in 1906 by American Jews largely of German descent and initially opposed to Zionism (a position long since abandoned), it has 40,000 members and an annual operating budget of \$9 million. Its general purpose is to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews, and reduce prejudice. It publishes the lively intellectual journal *Commentary* (circ. 60,000) and the *American Jewish Year Book*.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. Launched in 1918 with a pro-Zionist East European membership, its purposes are nearly identical with those of the American Jewish Committee but are carried out on a more international level. The nationality leanings of the two organizations have lost most of their significance. It has 50,000 family members and a budget of \$2,203,000.

B'NAI B'RITH (Sons of the Covenant). Founded in New York City in 1843, it is an international service organization

with more than 500,000 members attached to lodges and chapters in 40 nations. Its \$13 million budget is used for the cultural, recreation and social needs of its members.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL). An arm of B'nai B'rith, it was founded in 1913 to fight anti-Semitism, mainly through continual monitoring and publicizing of evidence suggesting such sentiment. With a budget of \$7.4 million and a staff of 300 people, it issues periodic public reports on trends in prejudice against Jews and tries to counteract such trends through community projects and legal action.

PRESIDENTS' CONFERENCE. More formally titled the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, it consists of the heads of 31 other American Jewish groups. It began in 1955 with just 16 leaders who felt the need for more unified group action in protecting Israel's position in the Middle East. When a U.S. President wishes to consult Jewish leaders, and vice versa, this is the group that most often represents American Jewry.



RAISING THE STAR OF DAVID IN SYRIA IN 1973 WAR
Israel is not a Czechoslovakia.

was about 5,000 last year, but applications appear off. One important service American Jews perform for Israel, apart from collecting money, is to try to influence American opinion and policy in ways favorable to Israel. So effective do they seem at this that sooner or later every U.S. visitor to Arab lands will be asked to admit that the pro-Israel bias of U.S. policy is surely the work of the mysteriously omnipotent and sinister American Jewish lobby.

The accusation is simplistic, if understandable from an Arab perspective. It ignores the general American support for Israel that is really the subsoil that enables the Jewish

THE NATION

lobby to flourish. Non-Jewish Americans harbor profound sentiments toward Israel that have nothing to do with Jewish lobbying; a sense of something owed the Jewish people after the Nazi Holocaust; shared religious roots and democratic ideals; admiration for the pioneer spirit of the Israeli nation builders, so seemingly akin to America's own beginnings; empathy for the underdog diminished after the Israelis' victory in 1967. Besides there were the geopolitical, cold war realities of the 1950s, when Arab governments turned to the Soviet Union for aid in their efforts to destroy Israel.

Arabs, of course, say that this would not have happened had it not been for America's pro-Israel policy in the first place. Still, there is much truth to the argument that even if the U.S. had no Jewish population, U.S. policy would have been very similar to what it was. But the U.S. does have a Jewish population, one that is articulate and aware, and a much smaller Arab population with few influential spokesmen for the Arab cause. That surely did make a difference in the images of both sides in the conflict that were presented to the American people, and in the quantity of news about the Israelis, as opposed to the Arabs.

Doubtless, the impact of Jewish political activism has been vast. Shortly after the pistol-packing Arafat addressed the U.N., an unusual public letter to President Ford appeared as an advertisement in the *Washington Post*. The letter urged firm support of Israel and rejection of the P.L.O., and it was signed by no fewer than 71 Senators. When Senator Jackson offered his controversial amendment to link preferred trading status for Communist countries with freer emigration, notably for Soviet Jews—an intervention in Soviet domestic affairs neither advocated nor understood by much of the U.S. public and opposed by the White House—78 Senators and 289 members of the House joined in co-sponsoring it.

Other instances of congressional support of Israel were also impressive: 71 Senators wrote to Secretary of State William Rogers on May 26, 1970, to urge shipment of jets to Israel. The Senate in 1971 supported, without even public hearings, an extra \$500 million to finance weapons sales to Israel (the vote: 82-14, even though the bill as finally approved deleted this provision). In 1973, 70 Senators and 264 Representatives co-sponsored resolutions calling for the U.S. to send additional jets to Israel during the Yom Kippur War.

THE RANGE OF AMERICAN JEWRY

American Jews, like any other group, resist easy classification and generalizations. They are fragmented by differences of class and religion, geography and background, education and life-style. In many ways, an Orthodox Jew may inhabit a world apart from a Reform Jew; a Jew from Germany may have less in common with a Jew from Eastern Europe than with non-Jews. Yet Jews are united on many issues. Fundamental is education. No other ethnic group sends so many of its sons and daughters to college. While only one-fourth of the general population that is 25 or older has had some college training, a 1971 Jewish study found 54% of Jews in that age range had gone to college. By 1985 it is estimated that half of all Jews under 65 will be college graduates. The zeal for education has produced higher earnings. The same study showed that in that year, the median income for Jewish households was \$12,630, compared with \$10,285 for the rest

of the population; 14% of Jewish-American families made \$25,000 or more a year, while only 10% were at the \$4,000 poverty line or below.

Jews constitute only 3% of the population, or slightly less than 6 million people. Yet, partly because so many areas of corporate America have, in the past at least, been closed preserves of Gentile power, Jews are represented far beyond their numbers in the professions: law, science, teaching, medicine, including dentistry and psychiatry. In a survey to determine the nation's top 70 intellectuals, the quarterly *Public Interest* produced a list that was half Jewish.

Jews serve in top positions in a national Administration of either party. At present three members of President Ford's Cabinet are of Jewish origin: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger (who converted to Lutheranism as a young man) and Attorney General Edward Levi. Alan Greenspan, chairman of the

Council of Economic Advisers, is also Jewish, as is Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve. Certain areas of Government employ an abundance of Jewish Americans, particularly the Departments of Justice, Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare.

In grass-roots political life, too, Jews play a vital role. A history of persecution has convinced them that safety lies in an open democratic society, and they are among the most politically active. Says Robert Strauss, national chairman of the Democratic Party: "Because of its background, the Jewish community feels that it must take a keener interest in democracy than anyone else. Jews feel they have a bigger stake in democracy than anyone else." So Jews tend to vote more conscientiously than other people. In his recently published *Jews and American Politics*, Stephen Isaacs estimates that Jews, who make up 14% of the population in New York State, cast between 16% and 20% of the vote in general elections. In statewide primaries, they account for one vote out of every four. In

Overall, Congress approved \$3.7 billion in credits or loans so that Israel could buy U.S. arms between 1950 and 1974, making Israel the third largest purchaser of U.S. arms in the world (behind Iran and Germany). In straight economic aid, Congress provided Israel with \$1.2 billion from 1953 through 1973. Until the 1973 war it merely asked to buy the weaponry rather than expecting it as a gift. Since that war, the U.S. has been providing military aid without repayment.

Was that remarkable legislative record the work of the Jewish lobby? What is it and how does it work? Some Senators, whose lonely votes were cast in vain against the lobby's wishes, including former Senator J. William Fulbright and South Dakota Senator James Abourezk (a Lebanese American and a Christian who is the only Arab in the Senate), see it as an overpoweringly efficient steamroller. Those who have championed its causes tend to view it as an amorphous, largely spontaneous expression of diverse Jewish groups and individuals who respond quickly and spiritedly to issues about which they feel deeply.

Both perceptions are partly correct. The lobby in practice is a blend of a well-staffed professional nucleus in Washington and the normally undirected but highly effective outpouring of articulate and intense sentiment from Jews throughout the nation. Jewish contributions to political campaigns also build influential allegiances with legislators and other officeholders. The money can be pivotal in launching a new political career but is rarely critical to re-election except in states where Jews are heavily concentrated, especially New York and California.

The organized Washington operation is carried out by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the only group formally registered to lobby on behalf of legislation affecting Israel. Some 12,000 members throughout the nation last year contributed \$400,000 to its budget—a sum substantially larger than the budgets of most major lobbying groups. That money supports AIPAC's savvy eleven-member staff (average salary: about \$15,000). A separate budget of \$200,000 pays for an informative newsletter, *Near East Report*, which is distributed to some 30,000 subscribers, including Congressmen and other policymakers. The staff was directed since its founding in 1954 by I.L. ("Si") Kenen, 70 a Canadian-born lawyer and former Cleveland journalist who



ISRAELI SOLDIERS CAPTURED IN THE SINAI IN 1973
Ending the myth of inevitable victory.

often downplayed his influence. "I rarely go to the Hill," he said recently. "There is so much support for Israel that I don't have to."

With his contacts, of course, Kenen did not have to depend on a lot of legwork in Congress; friendly phone calls would often do the job. But his staff does scurry all over Capitol Hill when a key vote is pending. Kenen stepped aside early this year to reduce his workload. The new executive director is Morris J. Amitay, 38, a former foreign service officer and assistant to Senator Abraham Ribicoff. While with Ribicoff, the energetic Amitay was influential in pushing Jackson's proposed help for Soviet Jews. One key to AIPAC's effectiveness is that the leaders of a number of major national Jewish organizations sit on its executive committee.

These other leaders, in turn, can alert their large memberships whenever extra pressure is needed in Congress on an impending issue, and the blitz of mail and telegrams can be impressive. Just as often, however, local Jewish leaders and activists are keenly aware of any approaching crisis and closely monitor their home-district Representatives on their

New York City, they produce one-half of the primary vote though they are one-fifth of the citizenry.

Both parties ardently court Jewish voters, but their vote usually goes to the more liberal and hence Democratic candidate. Jews have a "religio-cultural obsession with the egalitarian ideal," writes Isaacs. A heritage of oppression and exclusion has given them an abiding sympathy for the underdog; society's outcasts and poverty-stricken. If everybody does well, they reason quite cogently, so do Jews. In the 1968 presidential election, the Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey won 85% of the Jewish vote. Despite untold expenditures and tireless proselytizing, Richard Nixon was able to boost the Republican vote among Jews to only 35% in 1972. But that was enough of a shift to suggest an ongoing trend. Jews, like other Americans, are veering to the right in their politics, in the view of many observers, with less emphasis on utopian or reformist goals for society as a whole and more stress on Jewish community problems.

Jews and blacks, formerly united in civil rights struggles, have now gone their separate ways, partly because of the growth of black militancy, partly because of clashes between blacks and Jews over schools and housing in the North. At the moment, their relations could be described as a standoff. But liberalism remains the Jews' dominant political creed. "What we are seeing is really a conservatizing of their liberalism," says Literary Critic Irving Howe. "The last thing suburban Jews have when they have lost their religion and their ethnicity is the liberal tradition."

Jews do not run for political office in great numbers. There are three U.S. Senators who are Jewish: Democrats Abraham Ribicoff from Connecticut and Richard Stone from Florida and New York Republican Jacob Javits. In the House, there are 20 Jewish Americans: 17 Democrats and three Republicans. Two state Governors are Jewish: Pennsylvania's Milton Shapp and Maryland's Marvin Mandel, both Democrats. Jews are far more in evidence in sup-

port roles. They serve as strategists like Political Analyst Ben Wattenberg, who tested the presidential winds for Senator Henry Jackson in 1972; media consultants like David Garth, who has promoted such successful candidates as Illinois Governor Dan Walker and California Senator John Tunney; and above all as fund raisers.

Some people worry that American Jewry may be disappearing because of its successful assimilation in America. Traditionally, Jewish families have had fewer children than other ethnic groups. As the U.S. birth rate approaches zero, the size of the Jewish household—3.1 persons—is close to the national average. Jews also tend to marry outside their faith at a high rate; almost one-third of all Jewish marriages are mixed. There has been some slippage in religious observance. It is estimated that 53.1% of Jewish households are not affiliated with a synagogue. But given the importance of Jews in American life and a 5,000-year devotion to creed and culture, there is no reason to predict a decline in their influence and contribution.



CELEBRATING ISRAEL'S BIRTH IN MANHATTAN IN 1948

Two nations enjoying a unique historical relationship.

own. Especially when no one else seems to care or even know much about the specifics of legislation dealing with Israel, the resulting courting of Representatives, often in face-to-face meetings, can swell the pro-Israel vote.

All of this activity is, of course, not only legitimate but even an admirable use of the machinery of democracy. The effect is further amplified by influential Jews in the arts, universities, press and broadcasting—who are, however, far from united except on the basic issue of Israel's survival. Thus Jewish voices undoubtedly come through more loudly than the Jewish share of the U.S. population (3%) would suggest. New York's Conservative Senator James Buckley, who has little Jewish support, wistfully concedes: "The Jews are extremely effective in doing what the Constitution encourages; that is, peaceful assembly and the right to petition. I only wish others were as good at it as the Jews are."

That senatorial letter to Ford about the P.L.O. is a good example of how the process works. The \$1,481 ad was paid for by AIPAC after the idea was pushed by Amitay, then working for Ribicoff. The signatures were gathered in just ten days—through industrious buttonholing by Amitay and aides to Senators Jackson, Jacob Javits and Clifford Case, and an AIPAC telegram appeal. In contrast, support of the Jackson Amendment on Soviet Jewry developed in a far more complicated fashion.

When Jackson first proposed his amendment, there were serious reservations about it among Jewish leaders. An extreme view expressed by an influential Jewish Democrat was that "many Jews were worried about an anti-Semitic backlash as a result of the Jackson Amendment." If this would work against Israel or, more personally, Jewish families in the U.S., then, he said, "to hell with the Jews in Russia." When Jackson persuasively argued his case and calmed fears of a backlash, the Jewish lobby swung behind him.

But, as on much pro-Jewish legislation, the lobby was aided immeasurably by non-Jewish support. The amendment came at a time of discontent on both the political left and right with some byproducts of Nixon and Kissinger's détente policy, including the initial SALT agreement and the wheat deal with the Soviet Union. Thus many conservatives, as well as the Americans for Democratic Action, joined Jackson, and the support snowballed. Later, as some Senators saw serious implications in the move, they had second thoughts but felt that trying to get off the hook would be politically awkward.

As for the continuing supply of arms and economic aid to Israel, this has not been a matter of much debate in the U.S. since the 1967 war. The contribution of the lobby has been to capitalize on that popular sympathy and to watchdog each aid request, supplying broad position papers on the needs as well as answering questions on details from any wavering legislators. That is the routine usefulness of any efficient lobby,

THE NATION

and it helps rack up impressive votes for its cause. Contends Harvard Law Professor Abram Chayes: "There is absolutely no difference in the process of raising the minimum wage from that of providing defense for Israel."

Observes Congressman Rees, a gentile who represents a heavily Jewish Southern California district: "When an American Jew is concerned about Israel, he is going to get in touch with me, not because some lobbyist tells him to, but because he wants to. I know that and I expect it." Another California Congressman felt this kind of pressure—and in a pleasant way—after telling two Jewish businessmen that he simply did not know enough about the details of Middle East issues. They promptly set up a free red-carpet trip to Israel for the Congressman. They gently rejected his last-minute request, however, to "fly a Phantom over Egypt." Recalled one of the men with a laugh, "Can you imagine a U.S. Congressman shot down over Egypt in an Israeli Phantom?"

That same activism hit a California senatorial candidate in a less welcome manner. U.S. Representative George E. Brown Jr., challenging John V. Tunney for the Senate in the 1970 Democratic primary, made a fuzzy statement about the need to place a lasting peace above the interests of Israel. Jews were irate, and a meeting at the home of Max Palevsky, Brown's campaign manager, erupted in angry shouting. Says Palevsky with some hyperbole, "I was really afraid for my life and George's."

Any misstatements about Israel as seen from the Jewish perspective can lead to a quick curtailment of a politician's financial support. Georgia State Senator Julian Bond discovered that in his sorrow after he commented favorably about Palestinian Arabs. When he appeared at a recent lunch in New York to seek money, not for himself but for the Southern Elections Fund, which helps blacks gain public office in the South, he was rebuffed. His Jewish guests, who had given to the fund before, said they would give no more.

Another encounter with the use of Jewish campaign contributions as a political weapon befell South Dakota's Abourezk. He was initially welcomed by wealthy Manhattan Jews at a series of teas and cocktail parties in 1972. They liked his liberal views on domestic issues, agreed to support substantially his campaign for the Senate. When he won, they thought they were getting their money's worth as he compiled one of the Senate's most liberal voting records. But when the 1973 war broke out, Abourezk offered a reasoned defense of the Arab position, and was promptly denounced in letters written to newspapers by Jews throughout the country. He was told he would get no more money from Jews.

The 20 Jews in the House of Representatives are also a potent arm of the Jewish lobby. Their informal leader is Illinois Democrat Sid Yates, in whose office they assemble whenever a legislative emergency affecting Israel is at hand. Each of these Congressmen also operates independently.

During the Yom Kippur War, one of them, New York's Edward Koch, recalls, "I couldn't sleep. I thought I was witnessing the death of the Jewish state. Tears came to my eyes." After meeting in Yates' office, the Jewish Congressmen pushed a resolution urging that the U.S. resupply Israel. One black Congressman demurred, suggesting that he was unhappy with the wording of the preamble. Koch declared, "Look, I've signed a lot of your resolutions and I never ask you to cross the t's or dot the i's. This is the crunch." The man signed.

Perhaps the most illustrative confrontation with the Jewish lobby at the grass-roots level was that of Illinois Republican Charles Percy. Returning in January from a Middle East tour for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he told a group of reporters that Israel was too "intransigent" and ought to consider dealing with the P.L.O.'s Arafat, whom he described as "relatively moderate," compared with other terrorist leaders who might succeed him.

Those adjectives triggered angry reaction when the news reached Chicago, where 250,000 Jews live. Jews charged in an avalanche of mail that he was selling out Israel. Letters in Chicago newspapers protested that Percy was asking Israel

to "commit national suicide" and complained that the man responsible "for the murders at Munich and Ma'alot" cannot be termed "a moderate." Asked another letter: "Can Percy and others be bought by petrodollars?" Jewish leaders demanded that Percy return to Chicago and explain himself.

Gamely—and prudently—Percy did so. He talked to 125 irate Jews at a hastily called meeting. "You are pouring oil on the fire of the Middle East problem," charged a retired U.S. Army general, Julius Klein. Percy insisted that Israel should make adjustments now in order to avert another, bloodier war. Percy also answered questions from Irv Kupcinet on Chicago television. He noted that he had long criticized Arab leaders as more intransigent than Israel's but now saw some give in the Arab position. He said no fewer than twelve Arab leaders had told him that Israel's borders would be respected. "I'd hate to see us blow the present opportunity to move forward," he argued. "Both sides now must prevail in moderation." Chicago's main Jewish newspaper *The Sentinel* criticized local Jewish leaders for their "verbal lynching" of Percy in "absolute white-hot anger" and warned that eventually Percy's suggestions "would become a fact."

The assault on Percy suggested that Jewish reaction depends a lot upon how and where a sensitive Israeli topic is approached. Percy's senatorial colleague, Democrat Adlai Stevenson III, expressed similar warnings against Israeli foot-dragging on negotiations, but at a Bonds for Israel banquet with and without the inflammatory words. Even AIPAC's Si Kenen, writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, warned that "there may be erosion of support if Americans grow weary and come to believe that Israel is the obstacle to progress toward peace." He urged Israel to "pursue an imaginative and flexible policy." In gentler words, that was Percy's advice against intransigence. "All options are freely discussed in Israel," Percy observed wryly. "But apparently you can't do it here." Senator Buckley agrees: "Among many Jews, if you aren't 100% behind their position, you are anathema."

Although most of its attention focuses on Congress, the Jewish lobby does not ignore the White House, Pentagon or State Department—although one Kissinger aide claims that Jewish lobbyists have just about given up on the Secretary and work through Congress instead. Friction arose, for example, over Nixon's opposition to helping Soviet Jews through the Jackson Amendment, but Jewish leaders had no difficulty discussing it with him. One of Nixon's Jewish backers, Industrialist Max Fisher of Detroit, arranged such a talk. Fish-



NEW YORK FUND RAISING FOR ISRAEL DURING 1967 WAR
An outpouring essential to survival.

er also set up a meeting with Nixon in which Jewish leaders urged intervention with the Soviet Union to lift the death sentences given two Leningrad Jews who had tried to hijack a plane and flee the Soviet Union. Nixon and Kissinger did petition Moscow, and the death penalty was avoided.

The most direct pressure on the Executive Branch is exerted by the highly active Israeli embassy in Washington and by visiting officials from Israel. Ambassador Simcha Dinitz is regularly seen in the West Wing White House office of Lieut. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Dinitz, subtle and clear-headed, is fully aware of the current concerns of American Jews. "There is more talk of a second Munich in the United States than in Israel," he observes. "As Foreign Minister Yigal Allon has said, Ford is not a Chamberlain, Sadat is not a Hitler, and Israel is not a Czechoslovakia. But great apprehension exists."

At the Pentagon, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger was sensitive enough to Israel's possible reaction following J.C.S. Chairman Brown's comments to call Dinitz before the remarks became widely public. According to several Washington sources, Schlesinger apologized to Dinitz and asked if he was concerned. Said Dinitz: "General Brown's remarks should worry *you*." Replied Schlesinger: "They do. I ask myself: What ever is our purpose? To destroy Israel or to break the oil chain the Arabs have put around us? If the purpose of U.S. policy is to break that chain, then the U.S. must build a strong Israel. It is not General Brown's stereotyped approach that bothers me but his stupidity."

Some Jews wanted to demand that Brown be fired—an effort that, had it succeeded, would have seemed to give substance to his remarks. But calmer heads prevailed and agreed with Dinitz who argued, "We should not be for burning the witch of Salem in the name of General Brown."

The present ambassador carefully avoids the direct U.S. politicking engaged in by his predecessor Yitzhak Rabin. Under Rabin, the embassy openly supported the 1972 candidacy of Richard Nixon, thus offending much of the U.S. Jewish population. Rabin supported Nixon's Viet Nam policy precisely at a time when some antiwar Jews were trying to articulate a clear distinction between Viet Nam and Israel. He even appeared at fund raising rallies for Percy's campaign. By contrast, Dinitz cautions that such intervention is risky

TRUMAN & ISRAELI PRESIDENT CHAIM WEIZMANN (1948)





ISRAELI SOLDIERS KEEP A LONELY BORDER VIGIL

for Israel "because you never know where the chips will fall."

All of these diverse Jewish activities do add up to a potent pressure group in American politics. Yet if there is one fact that all of the Jewish leaders and scholars, as well as nearly all of the elected officials who feel the heat of the Jewish lobby, agree on, it is that the lobby would be relatively ineffectual if the other 97% of the U.S. population did not share a widespread sympathy for Israel. Certainly the lobby packs no political weapons that could overcome strong popular resistance to its aims. Other lobbies that have successfully bucked popular sentiment on particular issues are generally seen on Capitol Hill as more potent. They include the oil lobby, which protected the oil depletion allowance until it now seems doomed in the face of soaring oil company profits; the American Medical Association, which until recent years fought national health insurance; and the gun lobby, which still manages to defeat stringent gun controls.

American Presidents and their campaign opponents have long been aware, of course, that the concentration of Jews in New York and California, the two states with the largest Electoral College votes, can magnify the Jewish political impact in an election that looks close. Harry Truman undoubtedly had that in mind when, as early as 1945, he urged Britain to admit 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine. He was moved as well by humanitarian concerns over the Holocaust, and by pressure from American Jews that he later described as the most severe he had ever encountered.

There was nothing inevitable about the need to create a Jewish state. In religious terms, "Zion" traditionally was not an earthly realm but the Kingdom of God and "the return" would be through divine intervention, not the setting up of a secular state. Some Jews felt that their people's destiny was not to become a small state among other states in the Middle East but to seek opportunities—and make contributions—in other cultures the world over. Hitler did much to resolve that debate and to seal through horror the belief that Jews must have a country where they will never, under any circumstances, be outsiders. Thus, Israel was born in an extraordinary confluence of prophecy and politics.

As the 1948 election approached, Zionism was favored by 80% of U.S. Jews, according to a survey. Against the advice of his own State Department, but spurred by some 500,000 written pleas, Truman supported the U.N. plan for partition of Palestine in 1947. He announced recognition of Israel eleven minutes after its formation and promptly received Israel's first President, Chaim Weizmann, in Washington. (But he lost New York to that state's Thomas Dewey by 60,000 votes.)

The first and only serious split between the U.S. Government and American Jews came in the Eisenhower Administration, when Secretary of State John Foster Dulles sought to pull the Arab nations into an alliance with the West. This, as Dulles saw it, would also protect Israel. The U.S. increased financial aid to the Arab governments and

THE NATION

rejected one large Israeli loan request. As the Soviet Union began arming Egypt, the U.S. refused to supply matching weaponry to Israel, which turned instead to France. After Egypt's Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, Israel attacked with the support of British and French troops. The U.S. pressed for an armistice, then forced a pullback of all foreign troops from Egypt.

That U.S. action still bothers many American Jews, who feel that it merely set the stage for the ensuing series of wars that has yet to achieve a settlement in the Middle East. But U.S.-Israeli relations quickly improved, and so did the satisfaction of American Jews with policy. Now the overwhelming American Jewish concern is Israel's survival. Nathan Wolf, an Orthodox New Jersey college student, feels certain that the U.S. will never abandon "its own democratic ideals for some oil." If it did, he might leave the U.S., since "the country will have already left me." Moreover, insists *Commentary* Editor Norman Podhoretz, "feeding Israel to the Arabs would not bring down the price of oil," which he sees as an issue apart from the Arab-Israeli dispute. N.Y.U. Professor-Editor Irving Kristol sees little danger that the U.S. will push Israel into a settlement that risks its survival. But if the U.S. did, he feels, "the moral commitment of the U.S. to Israel would grow, not diminish." Harvard Sociologist Nathan Glazer once worried about the residual effect of Viet Nam. "If the country as a whole adopts the intellectuals' feeling that intervention is evil," he said, "maybe Israel will be sacrificed." But today he sees no sign that such an attitude is spreading. John Roche, a former adviser to President Johnson and a gentile, agrees; he doubts that "the isolationist ambience has permeated so deeply that the American people would stand by and watch an ally in the free society be exterminated."

Harvard Government Professor Michael Walzer believes that Kissinger is working toward a withdrawal of Israel from the lands it occupied in 1967. He thinks the Israeli government will accept that if it gets "a credible guarantee" from Kissinger, backed by the Arabs, that its borders will be protected and adjacent areas demilitarized. This means not only that the U.S. must gain concessions for Israel from the Arabs, as Walzer sees it, but in the end, that America must be prepared to establish a military presence to ensure withdrawal in the area and, as a last resort, be prepared to take military action if the peace is broken. Do the American people fully realize, Walzer wonders, the immense responsibility and political implications of providing such a guarantee?

There is considerable evidence that both Washington and the American people do indeed realize those risks and implications, as well as the opportunities. An eventual guarantee will have to be multilateral, with the idea that not only the U.S. but others as well will be pledged to Israel's security. Such a guarantee may still be a long way off: as Kissinger and others have pointed out, it cannot be a substitute for a settlement, only a supplement to one. Israeli Premier Rabin last week still sounded hostile to any heavy reliance on U.S. military guarantees. But the very fact that it is being seriously considered is a sign of progress. For the first time, the U.S. is not allowing Israel and its enemies to define the Middle East situation in terms of force. It is trying to shift from a military to a political process, goading and pushing both sides in that direction. Some facts are overriding: more wars would be bad for all countries in the area, and worst of all for Israel; Israel cannot achieve peace through military means; the Arabs must accept Israel's existence. All this has actually been clear for a long time, but it was not acted on because of rigidity and fear. If it is to be acted on now, what will be needed is compromise, concession, risk and even (rarest of all) an element of trust. These will be required not only from the countries of the Middle East but also from Americans, including American Jews.

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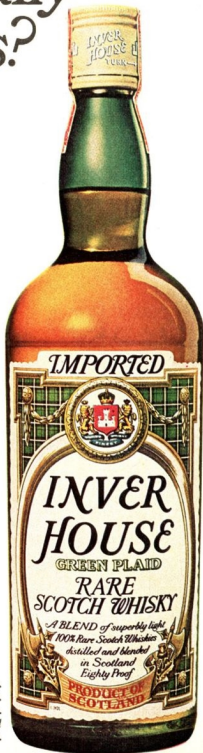
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FORMER BOXER TONY ZALE SPARS WITH MAYOR DALEY DURING CAMPAIGN

CHICAGO

Daley Regnant

In the last weeks of the campaign, Chicago's city workers scurried about removing dead trees, filling potholes and handing out shiny new garbage cans to voters. On primary election day, Democratic-machine lieutenants stood two and three abreast at street corners on the predominantly black West Side to steer people to the polls. Assistant precinct captains in the 31st Ward solicitously helped voters find parking places and brushed the snow from their windshields. Ward heelers elsewhere rounded up the elderly, the infirm and even the West Madison Street derelicts and took them to the voting booths. In these and other ways, Chicago's 25,000 or so patronage workers—and many of their relatives—helped Richard J. Daley overwhelm three Democratic opponents last week and assure himself of winning an unprecedented sixth term in the general election on April 1.

No Giant Killer. He hardly needed such help. Even Daley's staunchest foes had to agree that he won on his popularity among the city's voters, not just because of the machine's tactics. The opposition had attacked Daley's age and frail health (he suffered a stroke last spring), the scandals of his administration, rising crime and deteriorating public schools. But most Chicagoans hold an abiding admiration for Daley and went overwhelmingly for the status quo. Explained former State's Attorney Ben Adamowski, a onetime critic who endorsed Daley this time: "When the ship is in trouble, you don't throw an experienced captain overboard." Daley carried 47 of the city's 50 wards, piling up 432,224 votes in the unofficial count to 217,764 for his chief opponent, Indepen-

dent Democrat William Singer, who was handicapped by his youth (34) and inexperience. Farther behind were black State Senator Richard Newhouse with 58,548 votes and former State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan with 37,034. None of the challengers had the stature of a giant killer, and in Chicago Dick Daley rates as a giant.

Special Relationship. Along the way to renominating their man, Daley workers shattered the political fortunes of the token G.O.P. nominee for mayor, John Hoellen, 60, who was also running for re-election as the city's only Republican alderman. He was beaten, in part because the machine made a special point of turning out votes for his opponent, Eugene C. Schuler, 27, a real estate appraiser and protégé of the Democratic ward committeeman. Afterward, Hoellen considered dropping out of the race against Daley. Said the Republican: "If I can't be elected alderman of the 47th Ward, it's impossible for me to be elected mayor." He called Daley's victory "the ultimate in precinct power. They could have elected a gorilla." Don Rose, a leader of the antimachine Democrats and former publisher of a community newspaper, added more fairly: "The man is an institution. He has a unique and special relationship with the city that borders on the religious."

Daley appeared subdued after his triumph. "After this great victory, we must unite all the people of our city. I shall embrace charity, love, mercy and walk humbly with my God." Many Chicagoans believe that he will have to do all that and more if he is to deal successfully with Chicago's problems over the next four years. More important for the machine, he must also arrange for an orderly transfer of power to a successor. He is now 72, and this campaign was almost certainly his last hurrah.

MISSISSIPPI

Boycott in Byhalia

In the early morning hours of last June 29, Butler Young Jr., a 21-year-old black laborer, was arrested by two white police officers from the town of Byhalia, Miss. (pop. 750), for hit-and-run driving. With the Byhalia police was a black deputy sheriff from adjacent DeSoto County, where the alleged hit-and-run incident had taken place. The sheriff climbed into the back of the Byhalia officers' car along with Young, and the three policemen set off to take their prisoner to jail. Young never made it.

Within an hour, the arresting officers told the attending physician at a county hospital that Young had made his way out of the back of the patrol car (which had no door or window handles). In trying to escape, they said, Young had run into a fence and broken his neck. But Marshall County Coroner Osborne Bell found a bullet wound in Young's left armpit, and no evidence of a broken neck. When he confronted the police with his findings, they literally bolted from the hospital.

From that incident has grown one of the longest civil rights boycotts in Mississippi history. Organized by the United League of Marshall County, a local civil rights group that claims to have 4,000 members, the boycott has been nearly 100% effective for eight months. It has cut business in some Byhalia stores by as much as 75%. Six white merchants have already declared bankruptcy, and others may soon follow.

Three weeks after Young's death, an all-white county grand jury refused to return indictments against the police officers involved. Until indictments are forthcoming, the town's blacks insist they will continue to shop in other towns, including Memphis, Tenn., only 30 minutes from Byhalia by car.

Losing No Stream. White merchants have tried to stop the boycott in court. They brought a suit against the league, which they eventually lost in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Outside the courts, the league's leaders have been threatened and even shot at. The boycott's supporters think that Mississippi Senator James Eastland, powerful chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has intervened in the Byhalia situation. They insist that Eastland has pressured the Justice Department to try to break up the boycott.

The Justice Department did send representatives, not of its Civil Rights Division, but of its less effective Community Relations Service, to Byhalia last August. Boycott leaders claim that CRS agents harassed participants in the boycott, tried to discredit black leaders and even urged blacks to resume shopping in white-owned Byhalia stores. The leaders also charge that CRS men fre-

THE NATION

quently slipped money to black winos and steered them in the direction of white-owned package stores. CRS agents deny that they harassed anyone or bribed winos. In any case, the boycott shows no signs of losing steam. The FBI has found sufficient evidence of police misconduct in the Young case to recommend prosecution, but the Civil Rights Division has so far failed to follow up by taking the evidence to a federal grand jury.

Though 250 black and white Byhalia residents met amicably last week and drew up a list of priorities for improving the town, none of their resolutions directly addressed the boycott—or the death of Young. "I think we're on the way to settling the problem," said Dudley Moore, Byhalia's white mayor. But many of Byhalia's blacks would hardly agree.

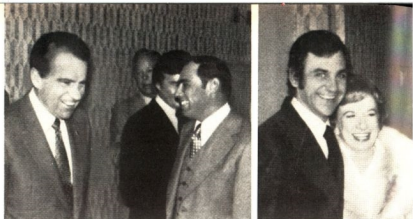
The failure of the biracial meeting to face up to the issue of Butler Young's death has made the boycott's organizers even more determined. That determination is perfectly evident at Carrington's Market in Byhalia. Before the boycott, sales ran \$30,000 a month. Today they are less than \$6,000 a month.

THE EX-PRESIDENT

A Quiet, Private Dinner

By most accounts, Richard Nixon has been leading a reclusive life since leaving office, rarely venturing outside the walls of his Casa Pacifica compound. But in recent weeks his existence has opened up a bit. On Feb. 9, when the six-month transition period designed to prepare ex-Presidents for private life officially ended, Nixon seemed in reasonably good spirits, almost jaunty, at a farewell party for departing aides. That left the staff still on his federally allotted payroll at five, including Secretary Rose Mary Woods. Also on hand are four volunteer associates, like former Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler, who perform a variety of chores even though they are now off the federal payroll.

Nixon's first social appearance outside San Clemente came two weeks ago near Palm Springs, Calif., at the opulent estate of Walter Annenberg, former



NIXON & BRENNAN AT SAN CLEMENTE PARTY

ZIEGLER & ROSE MARY WOODS

U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain and a longtime Nixon friend. Nixon and Pat arrived with the ex-President's military aide, Marine Colonel Jack Brennan, and six Secret Service men in tow. Nixon's recovery from surgery last October has been gradual, and he occasionally favors his left leg, but he managed to play two holes of golf on Annenberg's private 18-hole course; his swing was surprisingly good, and there was no sign of a limp.

Mixing Freely. The highlight of the Nixons' five-day visit was a dinner party for eleven couples, including fellow Annenberg house guests Ronald and Nancy Reagan. Among those who wheeled past the well-guarded gates of the electric-fenced 220-acre spread in Rolls-Royces and Cadillacs were Frank Sinatra, escorting longtime Companion Barbara Marx; U.S. Ambassador to Belgium Leonard Firestone and his wife Barbara; Standard Oil of Indiana Chairman John Swearingen and his wife Bonnie; Los Angeles Auto Dealer Holmes Tuttle, a star G.O.P. fund raiser, and his wife Virginia; and onetime Radio Star Freeman Gosden (Amos *'n' Andy*) and his wife Jane. Comedian Bob Hope arrived at the wheel of a station wagon with Wife Dolores. Notably absent: Spiro T. Agnew, who was ensconced near by as a house guest of Sinatra's.

Nixon mixed freely with the guests during cocktails, speaking to each one individually. According to one guest, Pat was "ravishingly beautiful" in a long red gown. "She looked as well or better than I've seen her look in the past 27 years."

said the guest. "I thought she would have been downcast or feeling rejected, but there was none of that."

People in Tears. Nixon also looked well, though considerably thinner since his surgery. He made no mention of Watergate all evening, for the most part confined his conversation to such topics as golf and Daughter Tricia's birthday the day before. He did, however, chat about the memoirs he is writing, and was agreeable to the suggestion that he might play some future role in the life of the nation. "He certainly did not lack confidence," a guest reported. "There was none of that hiding, sliding-away business."

Lee and Walter Annenberg are known for their table, and this dinner left nothing to be desired. It began with Iranian caviar (a recent gift from the Shah to the Nixons who brought it along), served with well-chilled Russian vodka; that it continued with slices of pink Chateaubriand served with a red Bordeaux, and Dom Pérignon champagne. In his toast, Annenberg expressed his appreciation to Nixon for his ambassadorial appointment. In his turn, the former President extolled the value of friendship, especially in the face of adversity, and lauded the assembled guests for their loyalty at a time when he needed it most. "He had people in tears" by the end of his remarks, according to Hope. Before midnight, what Annenberg called "a quiet, private dinner" for "old friends of mine and the former President" had broken up. The next day, the Nixons departed to resume their seclusion in San Clemente.

BOB HOPE & WIFE

WALTER ANNENBERG'S ESTATE NEAR PALM SPRINGS

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THE HOT ONE

PRICES

Learning to Sell Again

All of a sudden, store ads and shop windows round the country seem to be bursting with welcome news for the battered U.S. consumer: prices of all sorts of goods and services are coming down, down, down. Inspired by Detroit's generally successful efforts to pull customers back into showrooms, retailers, builders, bankers and manufacturers have been attempting to outdo one another in offering sales, specials, discounts and, above all, their own variations on the carmakers' rebates.

► Whirlpool Corp. last week announced \$20 rebates on all its washers, dryers and refrigerators.

► In Atlanta, Bendix Home Systems is mailing checks ranging from \$100 to \$600 to buyers of its motor homes, trailers and campers.

► Jetson Tire and Rubber Co. of Bridgeport, Conn., is mailing customers checks for \$12 after purchase of each set of four tires.

► In Riverdale, a residential section of New York City, promoters for a new 31-story apartment building named the Century are offering cash rebates of \$1,400 to \$2,800 to the first 100 tenants. The money is supposed to be paid, with interest, when leases expire.

Discounting, retailing's traditional tool for cutting prices, is spreading even to banks, where reductions on consumer-loan interest rates are running as much as 10%. Some businesses are lowering prices by offering stripped-down versions of standard products and selling them for less money, often with impressive results. Miami's Deltona Corp., a major builder of Florida retirement houses, tripled sales in January over the previous year by introducing a line of houses starting at \$17,800; such once standard features as carpets and fancy lighting fixtures are now offered as extra-cost options. Except for Chrysler, which plans to continue rebates on left-over 1974 models, Detroit's automakers let their six-week rebate scheme expire last week and began pursuing the less-for-less tack. General Motors, for example, has shaved \$219 from the list price of its Olds Omega coupé by making such items as radial tires, day-night rear-view mirror and even the cigarette lighter optional.

At the very least, the marketing bustle seems to signify that sellers, faced with mounting inventories, are once again learning how to sell. In an acerbic editorial aimed at the auto industry but applicable to all of retailing, the Madison Avenue trade bible *Advertising Age* sniffed: "The fact is that the deal-

ers and their sales staffs have started to remember, from the dim and distant past, the concept known as *selling*. It's different from taking orders or simply quoting prices."

The price downturn is a classic consequence of recession and rising unemployment. Says Harvard's Otto Eckstein, a member of TIME's Board of Economists: "By now, even the most rigidly administered price structures are showing cracks under the pressure of weak demand."

Though inflation continued at an annual rate of more than 14% during 1974's final quarter, the monthly rise in the cost of living began slowing noticeably; the consumer price index rose by

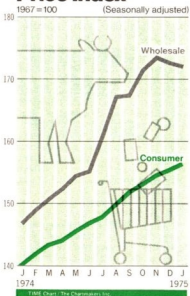
one percentage point or less in October, November and December. In January the CPI's rate of rise tapered to 0.5% for a compound annual inflation rate of "only" 6.2%—the lowest since April of last year. Reason: food prices, a major component of the CPI, peaked in November and have been easing since.

On the wholesale level, where future trends in consumer prices are foreshadowed, prices for raw materials and farm products have been dropping for months. Prices received by farmers, for example, peaked in October after a rise influenced by bad weather and mediocre harvests. In January the Wholesale Price Index actually declined at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 3.7%. Last July, by contrast, wholesale prices were rising at a rate of 58% a year.

Wage Moderation. Economists both in and out of Washington expect further easing in the rate of inflation—perhaps to 6% by the end of the year and to as low as 5% if oil prices drop and farmers produce good harvests. Upward pressure on manufacturing costs is diminishing because of a slowdown in the rate of wage increases; hourly wages rose at a yearly rate of 7.4% in January, v. 11.3% last spring. The moderation in wage demands is most notable among nonunionized workers, who constitute 80% of the U.S. labor force and feel vulnerable to layoffs at a time of rising unemployment.

The big question is not whether inflation is moderating, but how long the lull can last. If it is enacted *in toto*, the Administration's price-oriented energy program could kick up the cost of living by 2%. Many policymakers, among them Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns (see following story), are persuaded that the big tax cuts and massive easing in monetary policy that congressional Democrats, some Republicans and many economists are calling for could also return the nation to high inflation levels by next year. On the other hand, the eagerness of so many companies to cut prices powerfully supports another argument: the U.S. economy is so slack that it will take considerable stimulus to get it moving again.

Price Index



DUSTY BRUCE—REUTERS





CHAIRMAN BURNS AT SENATE BANKING COMMITTEE HEARING LAST WEEK

MONEY

The Federal Reserve Under Fire

There are only seven members of the Federal Reserve Board, and they are badly outnumbered these days. Liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, economists of all persuasions and more than a few Administration officials could cheerfully throttle the nation's monetary-policy managers for their performance over the past several months. Some congressional leaders, among them the new chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, Wisconsin Democrat William Proxmire, are so fretful that Federal Reserve policies are driving the economy deeper into recession that they have come to a conclusion: the board and its crustily conservative chairman, Arthur Burns, should be relieved of at least some of their cherished independence.

Effectiveness Doubted. Not many of Burns' critics have yet gone so far as Labor Leader George Meany, who has declared Burns to be "a national disaster." But they do question whether the man and his stubbornly restrictive policies are an asset at a time when the nation is deep in its worst postwar recession and unemployment is above 8% and still rising. The essence of the dispute between Burns and his opponents is whether the Federal Reserve has pushed hard enough to expand the money supply and ease credit so that buying by companies and individuals can begin to restore sales, production and jobs.

Interest rates have been coming down steadily; the prime rate for loans to corporate borrowers was lowered another notch by some big banks last week to 8¼%, down from 12% last October. But many economists say that the Fed could have forced interest rates down

much more swiftly. Despite Burns' repeated assurances that expansion of credit had been "adequate," economists have been startled to discover from the Federal Reserve's own figures that the money supply has in fact been expanding at an average annual rate of just 3% since June, and that it actually contracted sharply in December and January.

One of the congressional leaders who is most upset by the Federal Reserve's performance is William Proxmire. He has proposed a resolution urging the board to "actively promote" economic recovery by "substantially" increasing growth in the money supply. In hearings before Proxmire's Senate committee last week, Burns protested that the 8%-to-10% growth rate urged by many liberal economists would be "dangerous"; he worries that pumping a flood of money into the economy could cause another upward surge in inflation. Burns also suggested that Congress would be mistaken to try to enact legislation to "limit the flexibility" of the board in determining monetary policy.

Yet Burns himself concedes that there is something amiss in the monetary machinery. He acknowledges that money-supply growth has "fallen short" of even the Central Bank's own goals. In December, for instance, the Federal Reserve set a money-supply growth target of 5% to 7% for the following month; what it actually achieved was a nearly 9% rate of decline.

The danger is that the U.S. economy may have stumbled into a so-called liquidity trap—a situation in which economic activity is so slack that the Federal Reserve is unable to provide stimulus at will. Normally the board controls

the money supply indirectly by altering the amount of reserves available to its member banks. The banks are required to count as reserves the cash in their vaults and a certain portion of their demand deposits—mainly checking accounts. They must place the portion of their deposits in non-interest-bearing accounts with the Federal Reserve. The board controls the amount of reserves in the banking system by buying and selling Government securities from bond dealers and thus either adding or withdrawing cash from the market.

The board decides whether it should inject reserves or take them away from banks by watching the highly sensitive federal funds rate. This is the interest rate one bank charges another for the loan, usually overnight, of any money it has in its Federal Reserve account beyond what it needs to meet its own reserve requirements. The fewer the banks' extra reserves the higher will be the federal funds rate. This rate peaked at about 13½% last July and was still nearly 10% late in October—evidence, according to the board's large group of critics, that the Federal Reserve has moved too timidly. The rate has dropped more swiftly in the past three months and now stands at 6%.

Growth Stifled. But the creation of reserves is only the first step in expanding the money supply. Customers must actively borrow and make deposits if banks are to be able to turn their checking-account deposits into an expansion of credit several times as large. Yet this is not happening. When the economy tilted down steeply late last year, the nation's banks began to turn away would-be borrowers. At the same time, business-loan demand dropped sharply. By then the Federal Reserve was increasing bank reserves rapidly, but it was too late: banks swallowed the added liquidity, and money-supply growth was stifled.

Burns argues that individuals and businesses are not borrowing because they do not want to spend, and not because money is too tight. This, he says, is the explanation for the paradox in the present monetary situation: interest rates are falling even though the money supply is barely increasing. Burns' critics agree—but only partially. Says Arthur Okun of the Brookings Institution, a member of TIME's Board of Economists: "To argue that Fed policy did everything it could is untenable." The critics say that if the Federal Reserve had been more alert to the danger of severe recession last year, interest rates would have come down faster, borrowing and spending would have increased and the downturn might have been softened.

Burns and his board could wriggle off the hook if only the money supply would resume growing. But the figures released by the Federal Reserve late last week were not encouraging; they showed that the money supply growth from mid-January to mid-February was precisely zero.

Backlash at the Boycott

As the financial power of the Arab oil states has grown, so has their muscle in world trade. But in using their new strength, some Arab governments have been pursuing a policy that is deeply inimical to the legal and social principles of the industrial democracies. Financial and political capitals were shocked by the revelations last month that Arab bankers in Libya and Kuwait had threatened to pull their money out of major international bond issues unless certain U.S. and European banking houses with Jewish ties were barred from participation. Now the economic issues raised by such tactics are rapidly becoming a major diplomatic concern as well.

During his press conference in Hollywood, Fla., last week, President Ford made the U.S. position clear. "Such discrimination," he said, "is totally contrary to the American tradition and repugnant to American principles." Ford asked the Justice, Commerce, State and Defense departments to investigate, suggesting that the U.S. may take some economic counteractions against those who discriminate.

A day earlier, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith accused a number of private companies and U.S.

agencies of discriminating against Jews, and also provided part of an Arab boycott list that extended beyond the banking community into the ranks of American business. And only a few hours after the President's Florida press conference, Idaho Democrat Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, produced a copy of the entire blacklist.

According to the B'nai B'rith, four private firms* and two U.S. Government agencies had violated U.S. civil rights laws by excluding Jews from employment in Arab countries in order to do business or carry out aid programs there. Not all the companies responded immediately to the charges, but those that did so denied them. So did one of the federal agencies: the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which promotes U.S. trade projects abroad. The other agency, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which manages construction projects in Saudi Arabia for the U.S. Government, acknowledged tacit compliance with the boycott.

Going Along. At a hearing of Senator Church's subcommittee two Army colonels, William L. Durham and Joseph D. Bennett, explained that in deference to Saudi wishes, the Corps of Engineers made a practice of not assigning Jewish personnel to Saudi Arabia and also saw to it that its civilian contractors did the same. But both denied ever having seen the Arab boycott list.

Until last week, few Americans had. At the hearing, Church showed off a copy of the 1970 edition, which he had obtained from the State Department. Published in Damascus, the volume contains the names of 1,500 American companies, individuals and organizations with which the Arabs refuse to do business, supposedly because they are or have been involved with Israel in one way or another. But in many ways the list is baffling. The entries range from giant firms with worldwide presence like RCA and Coca-Cola to local U.S. department stores like Lord & Taylor. Some companies were unaware that they were on the Arabs' enemies list until it was published in the newspapers last week. For example, the American Electric Power Co. turned up on the list, even though the utility holding company has no interests anywhere in the Middle East. The Ford Motor Co. and Xerox Corp., both boycotted since 1966, are only two of many firms that have been trying to have their names removed from the blacklist.

The President's denunciation of Arab discrimination and the Church hearing, both of which took place on

* Ashland Chemical Co., Bendix Field Engineering Corp., Dresser Industries Inc. and International School Services.



Orders.

the same day, were clearly intended as a signal of bipartisan U.S. concern about the boycott. In Cairo, where the Arab boycott committee is currently holding its semiannual review of the blacklist, Mohammed Mahgoub, commissioner general of the boycott office, defended the list as "a legitimate means of legitimate self-defense." At the boycott committee's opening session last week, Mahgoub insisted that companies are listed only if they "play a role in helping Israel's economic, industrial or military efforts."

Legal Tools. Washington has only begun to explore what legal tools are available to combat the boycott. Many antitrust law experts believe that Section 1 of the Sherman Act, which forbids contract combinations or conspiracy in restraint of trade, could be used against, say, an Arab bank that refused to deal with U.S. companies that have ties with Israel; but enforcement would be impossible unless the bank had assets located within the jurisdiction of a U.S. court. Some Justice officials are discussing another approach: a threat of action under civil rights laws against U.S. companies that bow to the blacklist by deliberately excluding Jewish employees from their Arab operations.

Ultimately, the argument that is most likely to force the Arab governments to reconsider their policy of ethnic economic discrimination is that they run the risk of a backlash against the boycott when they begin to invest their oil billions in Western countries in a big way. As President Ford put it bluntly last week: "Foreign businessmen and investors are welcome in the United States when they are willing to conform to the principles of our society."

Who's On the List

The 1,500 entries in the Arab League's eclectic 1970 boycott list include many of the nation's biggest corporations, as well as a wide variety of other firms, foundations, individuals and products. A sampler:

Air Products & Chemicals	Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical
Allstate Insurance	Kaiser Steel
American Bank & Trust Co.	Alfred A. Knopf
Bonwit Teller	Lord & Taylor
Burlington Industries	Miles Laboratories
CBS Club	Minute Maid
Mediterranean	Monsanto
Coca-Cola	Motorola
De Soto	National Brewing
E.J. Korvette	National Steel
Ford Motor	Owens-Illinois
Four Roses	Paul Masson
General Tire	Philadelphia
Genesco	National Corp.
Hartz Mountain	RCA
Pet Foods	Republic Steel
Helena	Revlon
Rubenstein	Seagram
Henri Bendel	Sears, Roebuck
International Paper	S.H. Kress
	Whirlpool
	Witco Chemical
	Xerox
	Zenith Radio

ENERGY

A Soft Alternative

After much internal struggle and strain, the Democrats managed last week to produce their long-awaited "alternative" to President Ford's price-oriented energy program. The plan, drafted in haste by *ad hoc* task forces from both Houses of Congress, led by Rhode Island Senator John Pastore and Texas Representative James Wright, had both practical and political purposes. First, it was intended as a guide for Democrats on various committees drafting energy legislation, although it is not binding upon them. Second, and more important, it was to serve as the Democrats' bargaining position in working out energy policy differences with the White House.

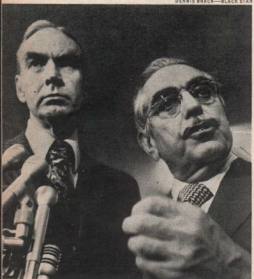
The Administration and Democratic programs were far apart in many ways. President Ford's program is expensive, tough and urgent: it calls for a

Like the Ford program, the Wright-Pastore plan calls for measures to reduce energy consumption over the long term, such as incentives to improve insulation of private houses. But unlike Ford, the Democrats would focus the U.S. conservation effort on cars, which account for 40% of all petroleum consumption. They would require increases in gasoline mileage of 50% by 1980 and 100% by 1985; graduated excise taxes and rebates pegged to fuel efficiency would be imposed on new cars. A 5¢ increase in gasoline taxes would be enacted to provide revenues for an energy trust fund that would develop coal gasification and liquefaction plants and other energy sources. A broadly powered National Energy Production Board of the kind favored by Washington Senator Henry M. Jackson would be established to direct U.S. energy development.

Seeking Toughness. The main complaint that Ford and his advisers would probably make about the Wright-Pastore program is that it does not promise to cut U.S. oil imports sharply enough. As it happens, the feeling is shared by at least one powerful Democrat, House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman. The Wright-Pastore plan, he says, is "a Milquetoast program that doesn't do anything. Our position has to be tougher, much tougher."

Ullman is trying to line up congressional support for his own program, which includes a tax, rising from 10¢ to 40¢ per gal. in four years, on gasoline purchased in excess of a basic weekly allotment per vehicle. The Ullman plan also incorporates a cleverly simple tactic for dealing with the oil-cartel countries. Under the Ullman plan, the Government would set a quota on oil imports and create a United States Purchasing Agency that would buy all the oil brought into the country. Sellers would submit sealed bids quoting their prices per barrel, and orders would be given to the lowest bidders. The theory is that some of the 13 members of the producers' cartel, worried about the growing glut of oil on the world market and unhappy about having to reduce production as a result, would be tempted to undercut the cartel price.

This tactic is similar to one proposed by M.I.T. Professor M.A. Adelman, who suggests that the U.S. periodically auction off a limited number of import licenses to the highest bidders; the winners would be paying for the right to sell oil to the U.S. at the world price. Cartel members who buy licenses secretly through front men would in effect be giving the U.S. Government rebates on oil purchases. Producers boycotting the U.S. auction would have to dump their oil elsewhere, thus depressing the world price. The intended result of both these schemes: to encourage the kind of cheating by the producers on established prices and policies that could crack the cartel.



DEMOCRATS WRIGHT & PASTORE
A Milquetoast program.

combination of tariffs, excise taxes and deregulation of domestic-oil and natural-gas prices in order to raise energy costs enough to force a 1 million-bbl-per-day reduction in oil imports by the end of the year. One main aim: to increase economic pressure on the OPEC oil cartel by encouraging stringent energy conservation efforts in other oil-consuming countries.

The Wright-Pastore program, by contrast, is mild. Its main goal: to stimulate energy conservation over the long term but avoid any action on the price or availability of oil that might damage prospects for a turnaround in the U.S. economy. The Wright-Pastore conservation target is exactly half as ambitious as Ford's—an oil-import reduction of 500,000 bbl. per day in the first year.



U.D.C. ROOSEVELT ISLAND PROJECT

SECURITIES

A Moral Issue

During the turbulent days following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968, the New York State Urban Development Corporation was born. At the urging of then Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the state legislature established an agency to rebuild ghettos in New York by financing low-cost housing and civic and commercial projects.

The legislature gave the U.D.C. broad and controversial powers, such as the right to initiate projects over the objections of local communities and the authority to raise up to \$2 billion by selling tax-exempt bonds. Rather than seek approval for the U.D.C.'s financing from a testy electorate, Rockefeller seized on a financing expedient developed in the early 1960s by a successful Wall Street bond lawyer named John N. Mitchell: the state legislature backed the bonds with a morally—but not legally—binding commitment to make good the debt if ever the U.D.C. failed.

Last week the unthinkable happened: the U.D.C. found itself unable to pay off \$104.5 million in one-year bond-anticipation notes. It was one of the biggest defaults by a public agency since the 1930s, and it posed a severe test of the value of the so-called moral-obligation bonds that the U.D.C. and other agencies have issued in recent years. The default posed the possibility that the agency could be besieged by a rush of lawsuits filed by creditors demanding immediate payment of its entire \$1.1 billion in outstanding bonded debt. Conceivably, such a siege could transform the U.D.C.'s problem from an embarrassing



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ECONOMY & BUSINESS

financial stumble into the largest municipal default in U.S. history.

The U.D.C. has been a prodigious builder. In just seven years it has completed or started housing for 33,000 families, as well as numerous civic and commercial projects and three "new towns," one of which lies half-built on an island in the middle of Manhattan's East River. The agency's troubles began last summer when it postponed a sale of \$100 million in short-term notes because it felt that interest rates (then around 9%) were too high. By last September, when the U.D.C. finally sold \$225 million in bonds, it had to pay a painful 9.4% for its cash, which was all the more distressing because only half of the agency's projects had begun to generate revenue.

Close Look. Around this time, many institutional buyers began to worry about the U.D.C.'s heavy borrowing. They prefer to limit their investment to 10% of any particular security and also seek geographical diversity; the U.D.C. and New York City together have accounted for about 30% of all tax-exempt bonds sold in the U.S. over the past few years. As money grew tight, investors began to look more closely at the U.D.C.'s unconventional moral-obligation bonds, which are tied not to specific projects but to the highly uncertain fortunes of the agency as a whole. Meanwhile, the U.D.C.'s welcome on Wall Street was wearing thinner by the month as a result of friction between Edward J. Logue, the agency's former president, and the New York banking community, where Logue was considered to be "arrogant." When the bankers would ask questions about the U.D.C.'s income, says Jackson R.E. Phillips, director of municipal bond research at Moody's Investors Service, agency officers would blithely reply that "they had the state's backing and didn't need to provide cash-flow projections."

New York's new Governor, Democrat Hugh L. Carey, brought in Richard Ravitch, a wealthy construction executive, to run the U.D.C. last month after Logue resigned. Carey last week sped a bill through the state legislature creating another public agency whose mission is to bail out the U.D.C. by buying mortgages on its uncompleted projects. The rescue effort will be costly: more than \$392 million will be needed by the agency to complete the U.D.C.'s current projects.

The U.D.C. episode will cast a pall over the municipal bond market. The doubts raised by the U.D.C. crunch could have especially grave repercussions for the more than \$6.3 billion of outstanding moral-obligation bonds issued by similar public agencies in 30 states. Following the default, U.D.C. bond prices fell rapidly; some bonds sold for half their face value, and by week's end most other outstanding issues had fallen by more than \$100 per \$1,000 bond.



WEST GERMAN-BUILT SUPERTANKER HEADS TOWARD PERSIAN GULF

SHIPPING

Superbust

In *Supership*, the recent bestseller on the profits and perils of ever bigger tankers, Author Noël Mostert raises the harrowing prospect of narrow sea lanes, already crowded with vessels of 200,000 tons and more, soon to be joined by monsters capable of carrying as much as 1 million tons of oil. Yet suddenly this prospect is fading. Dozens of supertankers are idle, and others are being laid up almost daily. Last week four 370,000-ton tankers on order for construction at Norwegian shipyards were withdrawn, bringing that nation's cancellation total to 26. For many of the high-rolling shipowners who gambled heavily on it, the great supertanker boom has turned into a painful superbust.

The cause is a sharp drop in the growth of world oil consumption since the cartel countries dictated their fourfold price increase last year. A 7% decline in West European oil imports since then has sent tanker charter rates plunging. Before the oil embargo started in October 1973, the cost of a spot charter (one or two trips) of a 220,000-ton supertanker for the 11,000-mile round trip from the Persian Gulf to Rotterdam reached a record \$8.8 million. By mid-November, the rate had fallen to \$2.6 million. Today a 220,000-ton tanker can be spot-chartered for the Rotterdam run for as little as \$800,000—less than the cost of operating many ships when amortization is included. In fact, the only reason such low rates are offered is that most costs accrue whether the ship is running or not.

Owners who were pocketing profits of up to \$11 million on one-month voyages in 1973 are now scrambling for charters at any price or simply laying up their ships. For the past eight weeks about 20 of the world's 479 supertankers (generally defined as ships capable of

carrying 200,000 tons or more of crude oil) have been sitting in the Persian Gulf waiting for orders.

Ironically, it was an Arab-Israeli conflict that marked both the rise and decline of the supertanker boom. Before the Six-Day War broke out in 1967, there was only one 200,000-ton ship in existence. But the closing of the Suez Canal created a need for huge ships that could economically carry oil the long way around Africa to the Atlantic. Soon U.S. oil imports began to increase sharply. Then came the October war, followed by the oil price increase and the worldwide recession that it helped cause. Even if oil consumption picks up smartly in the future, the prospects are that more oil will travel in "handy-sized" tankers of 30,000 to 100,000 tons. The Suez Canal, if and when it is reopened, will shorten runs from the Persian Gulf to Europe by 4,800 miles, but the canal will not be able to accommodate the giants.

Cancellation Threat. Shipowners are nervously wondering what to do about the 373 uncompleted but already surplus supertankers they have on order at yards in Sweden, Japan, West Germany and Britain. Large-scale cancellations have been forestalled so far by stiff penalty clauses. But Shozo Doi, vice president of Japan's Sumitomo Shipbuilding Co., gloomily predicts that "about 50% of the tankers on order will become subject to cancellation talks or negotiations to convert to other types."

One welcome casualty of the decline in tanker rates is the as much as \$2 per bbl. premiums that the Algerians and Libyans had been able to tack on to their oil price because of the proximity of their wells to European markets; with the drop in rates they have had to cut their premiums to remain competitive with more distant oil countries. Still, the prime beneficiary of the bust may be the oil-producing states. Long intent on acquiring fleets of supertankers, they may soon be able to do so on the cheap.

JOBS

Doubting Sweden's Way

Boredom on the job. Blue-collar blues. By any name, the problems of low morale and numbing monotony surrounding production-line work have been of considerable concern in U.S. industry. One alternative often cited by various work reformers is the team-assembly concept pioneered by the Swedish automakers Saab and Volvo, according to which workers in small groups perform rotating tasks rather than installing the same widget on a fast-moving, impersonal line. American sociologists and union and management officials regularly return from tours of such plants favorably impressed. But recently a group of six Detroit engine-plant employees tried the Swedish way by working at a Swedish auto company. Their conclusion: even Scandinavian-style factory work has its drawbacks.

The six Americans, all employees of General Motors, Ford or Chrysler, ranged in age from 21 to 53 and in experience from eight months to 21 years on Detroit assembly lines. They spent four weeks at a Saab engine plant in Södertälje, Sweden, under a Cornell

University project funded by the Ford Foundation. According to a report completed last week by Robert Goldmann, a Ford Foundation program officer who accompanied the group, the six generally found the physical working environment at Saab better than at home. More work space per person and omnipresent safety officials made the plant less hazardous than those in Detroit. The factory was cleaner, cooler and much better lighted than the typical U.S. auto plant. The Americans also enjoyed the plant's annual St. Lucia Day celebration around Christmastime. Yet the workers came away with serious doubts about the plant's main feature—group work.

At the Saab plant, teams of three or four workers assemble light, four-cylinder car engines at a rate of up to eight per hour. Team members decide among themselves who will work on what part of the engine, and some of the Americans welcomed this change from assembly-line routine. Herman Lommerse, 53, a Cadillac engine-plant worker, felt as if they were "building little toys." But his colleagues found the pace of work unexpectedly fast. Said Joe Rodriguez, 36, a ten-year Ford employee: "If I've got to bust my ass to be meaningful, forget it. I'd rather be monotonous."

One particular peeve shared by all the Americans was the shortness of the lunch break: 24 min. for the 5 a.m. to 2 p.m. shift, and just 18 min. for the 2 p.m. to 11 p.m. shift. Some of the Detroiters felt that after a point, even team assembly could become tedious. In any case, the group questioned whether the techniques used in putting together a small engine at a factory with limited capacity were applicable to the manufacture of heavier engines at million-unit-a-year plants in the U.S.

Regimented System. Working with a team, a few members of the group discovered, required accommodating themselves to the habits of others; they preferred to be responsible only to themselves. Perhaps most significant, the U.S. visitors tended to find the entire Swedish work system far too regimented and, though benevolent, demeaningly paternalistic. Labor unions seemed distant

and too close to management. Despite the much touted Swedish system of worker participation in company decisions, the Americans preferred the more informal grass-roots unionism of Detroit.

Part of the Cornell-sponsored group's misgivings about their Swedish experience are traceable to cultural differences. The Americans were annoyed by having to change shifts every week—a Swedish innovation to allow working spouses to take turns with household chores.

RAILROADS

Conrail to the Rescue

Grand plans for reorganizing the ailing railroads of the U.S. Northeast sometimes seem to come along more regularly than the trains that run on them. But the one that emerged from Washington last week could well become a reality. Drafted by the U.S. Railway Association, a federal agency created last January by the Regional Rail Reorganization Act, it would perform costly and radical surgery on the deteriorating rail system that stretches over 17 states in the Northeast and Midwest.

Faster Service. The Railway Association promises that its long-awaited plan would transform what it calls "a transportation disaster unparalleled in the nation's history" into a self-sufficient system within this decade. Under the plan, a private but federally backed company called Consolidated Rail Corp. (Conrail) would carry out the largest corporate reorganization in history: it would take over and consolidate the operations of the bankrupt Penn Central and six other troubled roads. Conrail would lop off about 30% of the combined roads' rail network, unless affected states could come up with 30% of the required subsidies. It would also spend more than \$9.3 billion in federal and private funds in a 15-year rehabilitation program. The Railway Association's chairman, Arthur D. Lewis, a former president of Eastern Airlines and one of the organizers of AMTRAK, says that the Conrail system could be paying its own way in less than three years.

The Railway Association also proposed 16 new or improved passenger routes between Northeastern and Midwestern cities. Between New York and Washington, for example, all freight traffic would be removed from the main Penn Central line to track now owned by other companies in order to make way for speedier, more frequent passenger service. New trains would make the 224-mile run in 2½ hr.—30 min. faster than the present Metroliners. The alternative to its plan, says the association, is nationalization of the seven roads that Conrail would run.

Resistance to the Conrail plan, on which Congress will be asked to act this summer, is already building in the states that would be affected. New York's Governor Hugh Carey said last week that the proposal was "utterly unacceptable" because of the routes that would be abandoned. The prospects are for a long, politically charged struggle over Conrail and, while it continues, more infusions of the taxpayers' money into the sick Northeastern railroads. In the same day that the Railway Association presented its proposal, the Senate voted emergency financial aid for the Penn Central and other roads for the third time since 1970. The package: \$347 million in grants and loan guarantees.

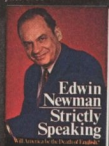
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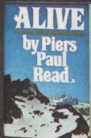
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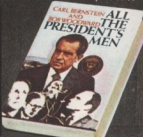
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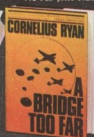
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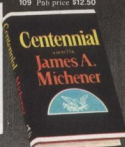
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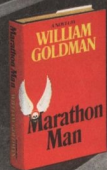
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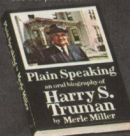
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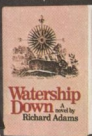
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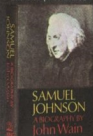
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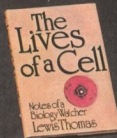
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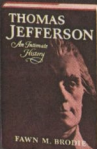
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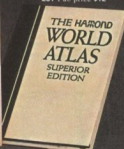
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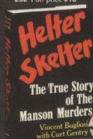
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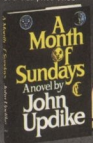
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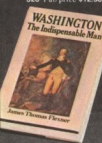
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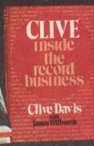
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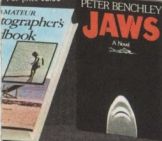
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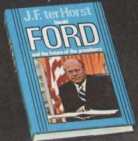


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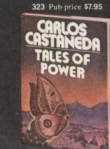
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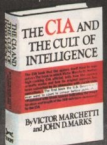
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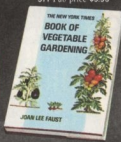
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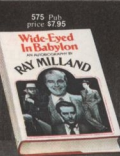
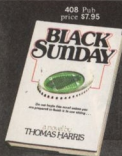
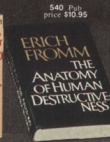
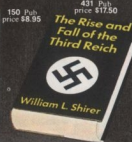
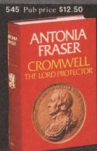
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CAMBODIANS RUNNING THROUGH STREETS OF PHNOM-PENH SEARCHING FOR COVER IN MIST OF KHMER ROUGE ROCKET ATTACK

THE WORLD

CAMBODIA

Once More, Phnom-Penh Fights to Live

For the fifth year in a row, Khmer Rouge insurgents have mounted a dry-season offensive against the Cambodian capital of Phnom-Penh, strangling the city and blocking its vital Mekong River supply line. Once again there are widespread predictions that Phnom-Penh is on the verge of collapse—and with it, the U.S.-backed government of ailing President Lon Nol. Whether or not it falls, there is no question that the situation is more desperate than ever before. The Cambodian forces have already exhausted the \$275 million in U.S. military aid they were granted this year and have scant hope of getting the additional \$222 million President Ford is asking Congress to authorize (see box next page). Meanwhile, as the threat of starvation increased throughout the capital, the U.S. stepped up a civilian airlift of ammunition and food into Phnom-Penh from neighboring Thailand and South Viet Nam.

Even though Phnom-Penh was subjected to daily rocket attacks last week, the Lon Nol government seemed blindly optimistic about holding out, apparently convinced that the U.S. will somehow pull it through. But there was little reason for confidence. Along the Mekong River, the government's position has steadily deteriorated. Instead of regaining some of the strategic river positions, as they had planned, loyalist

troops have lost much of the ground they retook in late January and in the process have suffered heavy casualties. Some battalions were wiped out completely. Others returned with as few as a dozen men in good condition; the rest were killed, wounded or captured. Reports filtered into the capital of remnants of three battalions, totaling 400 or 500 men, who surrendered en masse to the Khmer Rouge. Their action raises the suggestion that if things get much worse, large numbers of government troops might be tempted to surrender, vanish or defect to the other side.

Smashing Chinese Faces. Part of the government's dilemma is that it lacks the troops to defend Phnom-Penh and at the same time reopen the Mekong, a critical problem that would not be solved by the receipt of more military-aid funds from the U.S. Cambodian forces around the capital are already spread dangerously thin, the result of the nearly total destruction of a division in that area during this year's fighting. The high command feels it should not risk taking any soldiers away from Phnom-Penh; yet the river must be reopened to convoys, or the capital will eventually be lost anyway.

In the remaining government-controlled zones of Cambodia, the morale of the civilian population has never been lower. At the provincial capital of Bat-

tambang, for instance, students protesting the rising price of rice rioted for two days against the Chinese population, which forms the bulk of the merchant class and is an easy scapegoat. When 20 of their number were then arrested in a military crackdown, the students seized an airport commander and held him until Premier Long Boret flew over from Phnom-Penh and worked out a mutual release. By week's end the anti-Chinese feeling seemed to be spreading to the capital, where crowds of students gathered on street corners—waiting, as one described it, "for a Chinese face to smash." The rebellious mood could turn against the government, which is detested by many students for its languor, inefficiency and corruption.

Last week, with Phnom-Penh cut off by land and water, the U.S. stepped up its airlift to the besieged city. For months the U.S. has been sending ammunition into Phnom-Penh through a private contractor, Bird Air of Seattle, which uses twelve C-130s leased from the U.S. Air Force. By last week, through Bird Air and four additional firms, the U.S. was sending in 1,200 tons of food and supplies a day aboard 17 cargo planes that made a total of 30 daily flights from Thailand and South Viet Nam.

"The flying's the same when you have rice instead of ammo," said bearded Al Wells, 52, of Miami's Airlift In-

THE WORLD

ternational, "but it makes you feel a little safer when you're on the ground." Ken Healy, a World War II Air Force pilot who now flies for World Airways of Oakland, Calif., told Time Correspondent Peter Range: "The best time to go into Phnom-Penh is right after they've taken a few hits. We've figured out that if you haven't had another rocket for ten minutes, then you probably won't have any more for at least an hour." Healy, who ferried supplies to the Na-

tionalist Chinese in the 1940s, said of the 130-mile hops to Phnom-Penh: "This is just like China 30 years ago."

The airlift is plainly a last-ditch emergency operation aimed at staving off imminent collapse and not a means by which Lon Nol might win the war. With the fighting going so badly for his government, the question is inevitably raised in Phnom-Penh these days as to what kind of government Cambodia might have if the ragged peasant Khmer

Rouge soldiers should come marching some time soon into a capital city that most have never seen before. Would there be a bloodbath? The evidence to date is inconclusive. Recently, the insurgents slaughtered civilians in two remote provincial towns, possibly because they were thought to be government strongholds. But in other places, the Khmer Rouge have taken control quietly and without unnecessary loss of life.

Another recurring question is who

The Debate: To Aid or Not to Aid

"If Cambodia falls, we'll all feel very bad." So said a Pentagon official last week as the Ford Administration pleaded with a reluctant Congress to vote \$222 million in extra military aid for the Phnom-Penh government. In defense of their request, White House officials and Cabinet members trotted out several arguments. Most compelling was the warning that without an emergency infusion of ammunition, the government of President Lon Nol is in imminent danger of falling to the Communist-led Khmer Rouge insurgents. "An independent Cambodia cannot survive unless the Congress acts very soon to provide supplemental military and economic assistance," President Ford wrote to House Speaker Carl Albert, adding that "if additional military assistance is withheld or delayed, the government forces will be forced, within weeks, to surrender to the insurgents."

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger weighed in by raising the old specter of falling dominoes. "I know it is fashion-

able to sneer at the words domino theory," Kissinger told a Washington news conference, referring to the old Eisenhower-era philosophy that if one nation fell to Communism, it would cause other countries around it to fall also. The Secretary went on to argue that "we cannot escape this problem by assuming the responsibility of condemning those who have dealt with us to a certain destruction." The Administration is concerned not only with dominoes falling in Southeast Asia but also with the ripple effect that abandoning Cambodia would have on American credibility.

The Administration's arguments, while valid up to a point, are not totally convincing. For one thing, some Administration officials privately concede that the present government will probably fall sooner or later; to avoid any appearance of abandoning an ally, they would prefer to give it the extra aid anyway. U.S. policymakers, however, want to separate Cambodia from Viet Nam, where, the Administration feels, greater

stakes are involved. It thus wants to convince the legislators that the extra \$300 million of military aid to comparatively strong and well-equipped South Viet Nam would be of real help to Saigon in resisting its enemies.

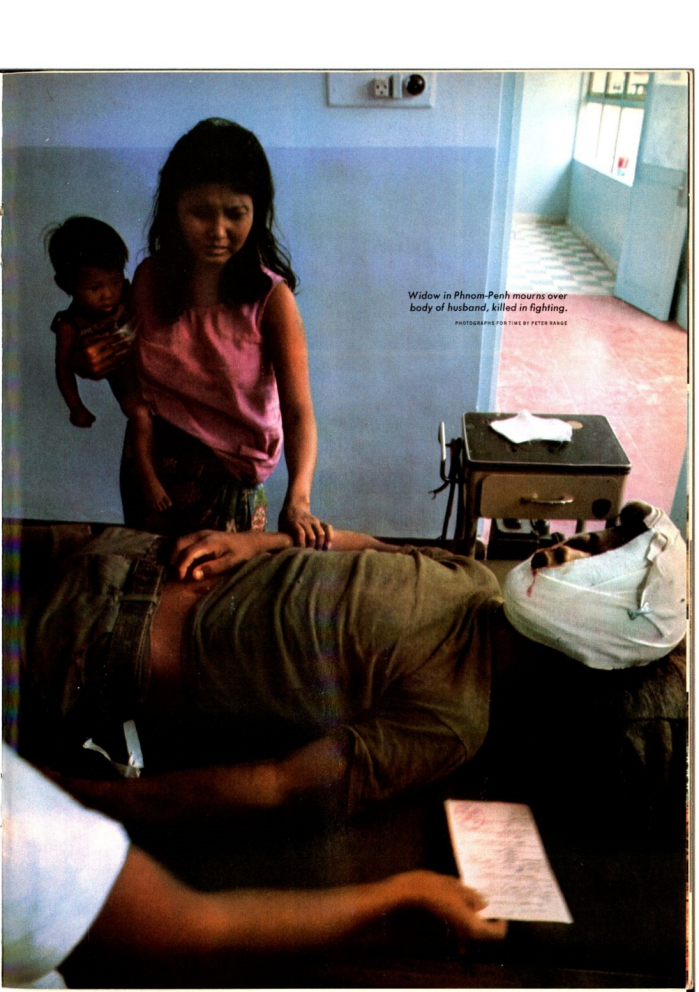
The collapse of the Cambodian domino, as Kissinger implied, might well enhance the prospects for an eventual Communist victory in South Viet Nam. Still, Vietnamese Communists have been able to put enormous pressure on Saigon even with Phnom-Penh in Lon Nol's hands, and the fall of his government is not likely to make a crucial difference. Beyond that, there remain obstacles to the spread of Communist influence in Southeast Asia. Neighboring Thailand, presumably the next endangered domino, is well equipped to resist Vietnamese influence. Communist insurgents in the northeast have achieved little so far, and Thailand has sufficient economic and military strength—including 25,000 U.S. military personnel and 350 aircraft—to successfully counter any threat from outside.

RICE DESTINED FOR PHNOM-PENH BEING LOADED ABOARD DC-8 IN SAIGON



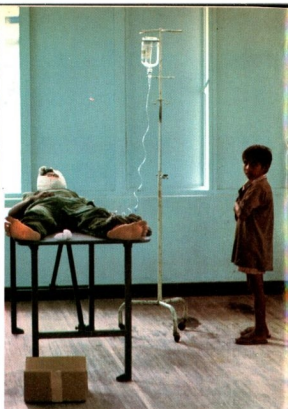
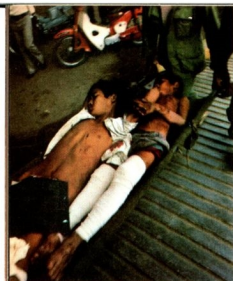
The Administration's dire prognoses also ignore the most crucial question about the Cambodian situation: To whom will the Phnom-Penh regime fall? The answer: to other Cambodians. Despite President Ford's references last week to a "ruthless enemy" and "outside aggression," not even the most hawkish U.S. embassy officials in Southeast Asia believe that the North Vietnamese control the Khmer Rouge movement, even though it is Communist-dominated. Essentially the Cambodian conflict is a civil war in which the pro-U.S. Lon Nol government, despite almost \$2 billion in American aid in five years, has proved too ineffectual and corrupt to stand on its own. Its replacement by other Cambodian rulers—even Communist ones—represents a minimal threat to American security.

In any case, the issue of increased aid may be academic. Nobody on Capitol Hill expects Congress to pass the Administration's request. When President Ford asked House Majority Leader Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill what the chances were for passage of his aid request, O'Neill's blunt reply was: "None whatsoever."

A photograph capturing a somber scene in a morgue. A woman with long dark hair, wearing a pink sleeveless top, stands over a body lying on a table, her hands resting on the person's arms. She has a pained expression. To her left, a small child is being held. In the foreground, a hand holds a piece of paper. To the right, a small table holds a white cloth and a white bag containing a small animal. The background shows a hallway with a checkered floor and a window.

Widow in Phnom-Penh mourns over
body of husband, killed in fighting.

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY PETER RANGE



Clockwise from top left: Wounded being carried into Phnom-Penh hospital. Dead body on a truck. War victim gets plasma while child looks on. Government soldier holds wounded child. Standing amidst spent shells, troops fire at Khmer Rouge from observation post on the Mekong River. Heavily bandaged soldier at hospital in Cambodian capital.



would lead a Khmer Rouge government. Exiled Prince Norodom Sihanouk remains the most popular man in Cambodia and the "Premier" of the Royal Government of National Union, the Khmer Rouge shadow government nominally based in Peking where he lives. He might return to Phnom-Penh as a figurehead leader, but his influence within the Khmer Rouge movement is limited. In late 1973 all but two of the cabinet posts in the shadow government were transferred from his supporters to "members of the internal resistance" operating inside Cambodia. Apparently accepting this decline in his fortunes, Sihanouk has promised to resign as Premier whenever such a step might be "desirable."

Real power seems to lie in the hands of Kieu Samphan, Deputy Premier of the shadow government and commander in chief of the 60,000-man Khmer Rouge armed forces. Once a member of Sihanouk's government, he is one of the three former ministers—sometimes known as the "three ghosts"—whom Sihanouk was supposed to have ordered killed in 1970. As it happens, the two other "ghosts" are also active in the shadow cabinet. Hu Nim as Information Minister and Hou Youn as Minister of the Interior.

The leading Communists in the movement are Saloth Sar, Ieng Sary and Son Sen, who helped found the Cambodian Communist Party in 1951 during their student days in Paris. Most Western observers assume that the Communist Party is the Khmer Rouge's driving force.

Cadre Shortage. If only because the Khmer Rouge has also suffered in recent fighting, the Lon Nol government could hold out until the rains return in May, thereby gaining several more months of power. On the other hand, the insurgents could decide to hold back in their attack on the capital, preferring to let the government cave in sooner or later from its own weight. In this way the Khmer Rouge could put off assuming the awesome burden of running—and feeding—a capital that is overflowing with thousands of hungry refugees and hundreds of wounded soldiers and civilians. The Khmer Rouge are woefully short of political and administrative cadres and if they should enter the city, they would probably be obliged to govern through the existing structure for a long time.

Lon Nol's prospects, in short, are bleaker than they have been at any time since he overthrew Sihanouk in 1970. Regardless of whether he receives more emergency U.S. aid, there is little he can do except try to hold out long enough to work out some sort of settlement with his enemies. "Time is running out," U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean fearfully shouts to Western newsmen in Phnom-Penh these days, referring to prospects for U.S. aid. It is also running out for Phnom-Penh.

WEST GERMANY

Living Dangerously in Berlin

BERLINERS, YOU ARE LIVING IN DANGER! So screamed pamphlets and newspaper ads published in West Berlin by the Christian Democratic Union in anticipation of last weekend's municipal elections. They referred to local worries about street violence. But the authors of the campaign did not realize how much danger there was until three days before the election. Lawyer Peter Lorenz, 52, the party's candidate for mayor, was boldly ambushed and kidnapped as he traveled by limousine from his suburban Zehlendorf home to C.D.U. headquarters in central Berlin.

The first political kidnapping in West German history was carried out with al-

crowd of students protesting a visit to West Germany by the Shah of Iran.

The June Second Movement demanded freedom for six jailed radicals involved in Baader-Meinhof-style criminal operations—curiously not including gang leaders Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof. They also wanted authorities to annul all verdicts handed down against demonstrators who had violently protested the death by prison hunger strike of a gang member named Holger Meins. One result of the violence was the murder of West Berlin Supreme Court President Günter von Drekmann. It is suspected that he was killed in retaliation for Meins' death (TIME,



PHOTOGRAPH OF LORENZ TAKEN BY HIS KIDNAPERS & SUSPECT LUTHER
An abduction turned a campaign issue into tragic reality.

most military precision. Lorenz's black Mercedes was cut off by a truck and rammed in the rear by a red Fiat. When Lorenz's chauffeur got out to discuss the accident with the Fiat's woman driver, he was knocked to the street by a bearded man from still another car. The men then jumped into the Mercedes and drove the protesting Lorenz away.

Berlin police were quickly able to identify the blonde Fiat driver as Angela Luther, 34, a suspected supporter of West Germany's notorious Baader-Meinhof gang of radical terrorists. Scarcely 24 hours after the kidnapping, however, the West German news agency DPA received a better explanation—a letter from the kidnappers and a photograph of the captured Lorenz—of what had happened. The kidnappers identified themselves as the "June Second Movement," referring to the day in 1967 when police shot and killed a member of a

Dec. 9). Unless the six prisoners were released, provided with \$52,200 in cash and flown out of West Berlin on a special jet, Lorenz, according to the note, would be executed.

Lackluster Image. The kidnappers said that Lorenz was a "representative of the reactionaries and the big bosses." In fact, Lorenz is a mild-mannered and scholarly politician who has often been criticized by his fellow C.D.U. members for being too much of a moderate. Despite his lackluster low-profile image, he stood a chance of winning Sunday's election—which the municipal government decided to let take place despite the kidnapping. Lorenz now may well benefit from a sympathy vote, as well as from a backlash against the governing Social Democrats led by Mayor Klaus Schütz. The mayor was particularly embarrassed by the affair, since Lorenz's police guards



EGAN'S BODY: WORDS READ, "PERÓN OR DEATH—UNTIL VICTORY, GENERAL—MONTONEROS"

—part of a plan to protect leading politicians of all parties—had gone off duty just two hours before the kidnapping.

Occupying Powers. Government authorities set up crisis centers in Bonn and West Berlin, and police launched a search for Lorenz and his kidnapers, also broadcasting an appeal over nationwide television for "convincing evidence" that Lorenz is still alive. On Saturday an anonymous caller told C.D.U. headquarters that Lorenz would be released after all demands had been met, but there was no way of knowing if the caller was really one of the kidnapers. Lorenz also sent two letters to his wife saying that he was well and hoped to be with her soon.

Meanwhile, authorities began groping for a way to respond. For one thing, whether they agreed to the demands or not, the timing of the transaction was bound to affect the election outcome. For another, the use of a 707 jet to fly the freed terrorists to safety would bring U.S., French and British representatives in West Berlin into the picture, since the occupying powers still control the air traffic into and out of the western sector of the city. At week's end the West Berlin government took a first step toward a solution by releasing two prisoners who had been arrested during the riots that followed Meins' death.

Halfway around the world, another political kidnapping came to a tragic end. In Cordoba, Argentina last week, Montoneros leftist-Peronist terrorists abducted the honorary U.S. consul, John P. Egan, 62, from his home. The terrorists demanded that four jailed comrades be released "alive and healthy" by 7 p.m. on Friday—or Egan, a retired Kaiser Industries executive, would be "executed." Both the U.S. embassy and Argentine Foreign Minister Alberto Vignes refused to negotiate with the kidnapers. Late Friday night, on a lonely dirt road outside Cordoba, Egan's body was found riddled with bullets and wrapped in a Montoneros flag.

BRITAIN

A Queen's Ransom

After a short stop in the Bahamas, Queen Elizabeth II, accompanied by Prince Philip, made an official visit to Mexico last week aboard the royal yacht *Britannia*. Meanwhile, back in Britain, some of her more disgruntled subjects in the House of Commons were wondering how much longer the country can keep her ship of state afloat in the style to which it has become accustomed—upkeep of the *Britannia* alone averages \$19,000 a day. At issue was the Queen's request for an increase, from \$2.3 million to \$3.3 million, in the Civil List, the government-provided allowance for the royal household. Although Parliament balked before approving a 50% raise for the Queen in 1972, the traditional spirit of gallant largesse was even more pointedly missing last week. Despite Prime Minister Harold Wilson's strong-arm tactics, most notably a stiffly worded warning that Labor Cabinet members and junior ministers could lose their jobs by not supporting the bill, 89 Laborites voted against it; 50 others avoided the confrontation by finding pressing business elsewhere. The Tories, however, predictably rallied to Her Majesty's defense, and the measure passed by a 337-vote margin.

The reason for the requested increase is Britain's 20% inflation, which has dramatically heightened the cost of maintaining a 463-member royal staff that includes equerries, stable grooms and pot scrubbers, as well as secretaries and clerks. The Civil List, however, is only a part of the estimated \$14 million spent annually to maintain the monarchy. The government also picks up the tab for three of the five royal residences, the royal yacht, a seldom used royal train and a royal helicopter fleet.

Newly elected Tory Party Leader Margaret Thatcher defended the expenditures on the grounds that the monarchy is "our most precious asset." Other

THE WORLD

ers, though, are beginning to see it differently. Said Labor M.P. James Wellbeloved during the floor debate: "In my household, and in every other, there is another sovereign, the housewife, who is struggling to keep her family afloat in the turbulent sea of inflation. We must prevent people like this from becoming resentful of the institution that leads them." For some M.P.s, however, the reaction of Britain's housewives was of less concern than the reaction of Britain's labor unions, which have been asked to restrain demands for inflationary wage increases voluntarily in keeping with the government's vaunted "social contract." Having postponed voting themselves a salary hike in order to set a good example for the country, many M.P.s had hoped that the monarchy would follow a similar course.

Challenged Prerogatives. Anticipating criticism, the Queen offered to provide \$360,000 of the \$1 million increase out of her own income. Rather than appeasing her critics, the offer only raised troublesome questions about the extent of her private fortune, which has traditionally been exempt from both income tax and estate duties. After last week's acronymy, Parliament is expected to challenge these royal prerogatives later this year.

Thanks to her unique tax exemption, the Queen is undoubtedly Britain's wealthiest woman. From one of her many estates in northern England she receives an annual income of \$750,000; any other Briton would have to earn roughly \$35 million to keep that much after taxes. The size of Elizabeth's fortune, which includes stockholdings as well as real estate, is a closely guarded secret, but more and more M.P.s are interested in learning how big it really is.

YUGOSLAVIA

Sop to the Soviets

"In my articles I always wanted to help Yugoslavia. I am simply fighting for the rights set out in the constitution." So pleaded Mihajlo Mihajlov last week as he stood before five stern-faced judges in a courtroom at Novi Sad, about 75 miles northwest of Belgrade. For the 40-year-old dissident author, who was arrested last October, that fight involved denouncing his country's one-party system—even at his own trial. To no one's surprise, the justices, all of whom are members of the League of Yugoslav Communists, ignored his arguments and found him guilty of disseminating hostile propaganda against Yugoslavia and of associating with foreign émigré groups. His sentence: seven years imprisonment.

The ostensible reason for Mihajlov's trial was the publication, since 1971, of four of his articles by *Posve*, a stridently anti-Moscow Russian-language journal published in Frankfurt by Soviet

émigrés. All the articles had earlier appeared in Western journals, including the *New York Times* and the *New Leader*. In an essay on Russian Novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Mihajlov noted that the true artist "really endangers the dictatorship of the Soviet Communist Party." In another work, he accused Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito of permitting a "cult of personality" and denounced the Yugoslav "party oligarchy" for attempting "to reintroduce total dictatorship in all vital spheres."

Moscow's Least Favorite. If these articles were so offensive to Belgrade, asked Yugoslavia's Archheretic Milovan Djilas in a newspaper article last fall, why was Mihajlov not indicted when they first appeared? Answering his own question, Djilas notes that three years ago, the historian's statements did not seem so threatening to the regime as they do now that "Yugoslavia's ideological and political course has changed." Tito, who will be 83 in May, has grown increasingly worried about his nation's ability to remain united and independent after his death. Thus he has recently ordered an ideological campaign to suppress political unorthodoxy and augment the power of the central party leadership. According to Djilas, Mihajlov "did not fall in line with the new course."

Jailing Mihajlov might also be a sop to the Soviets, whose attitude toward Yugoslavia will be extremely important in the post-Tito era (TIME, Oct. 21). For a decade, Mihajlov has been the Kremlin's least favorite Yugoslav. His 1965 travelogue, *Moscow Summer*, was scathingly critical of the Soviet police state. Kremlin leaders were so angered by it that they pressured Belgrade to prosecute Mihajlov for "defaming a friendly power." Since then he has been tried three times and has served 3½ years in prison. This did not dissuade him, however, from warning in his recent articles that the greatest danger to Yugoslavia comes not from the West but from the East.

Even before his detention last fall, Mihajlov was living in a prison of sorts. The government refused to let him publish, and he was prevented from leaving the country to accept lecturing positions at Western universities. Now Mihajlov hopes that Western outrage at his imprisonment will induce Belgrade to reduce his sentence or permit him to emigrate.

SOVIET UNION

Death of an Un-Person

His portly figure, bemedached chest, well-groomed mustache and Vandyke beard became worldwide symbols of what was thought to be the Kremlin's conciliatory new look in the early years of the post-Stalin era. For more than a decade, he was a member of the Soviet

Union's ruling elite. Yet by the time he died last week at age 79 after a long illness, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin had become an un-person in his homeland, an ignored and forgotten figure who in his last years idled away his time strolling along Moscow's boulevards and watching chess games in the park. *Izvestia* devoted only a paragraph to his obituary and no officials attended the perfunctory 30-minute funeral service.

A protégé of Stalin's who nimbly escaped the dictator's endless purges, Bulganin was born in Nizhni Novgorod (now Gorky) to a middle-class family. He joined the Bolshevik Party a few months before the 1917 revolution and advanced quickly in a succession of jobs: member of the secret police, non-sense manager of a key Soviet electrical-equipment factory and mayor of Moscow. Although he had no battlefield command experience, Bulganin became a general during World War II. Actually, he was a political commissar, charged with the task of keeping Red Army officers loyal to the Kremlin's leaders. In 1947 Stalin promoted Bulganin to Marshal of the Soviet Union and also named him Deputy Premier—a post he held until the dictator's death in March 1953, when he assumed the powerful position of Minister of Defense.

Although often derided by party compatriots as a mediocrity, Bulganin had a shrewd instinct for survival. In 1953 he joined the Presidium plot to arrest the hated secret police chief Lavrenty Beria, and two years later he backed Nikita Khrushchev's successful attempt

to oust Georgi Malenkov as Premier. As a reward, Bulganin was given Malenkov's job.

Bulganin played a key role in softening the style of Kremlin leadership. As Premier, he launched "cocktail co-existence," giving numerous receptions for diplomats and journalists in Moscow at which he chatted affably and insisted that all the Soviet Union desired was a reduction of world tensions. Bulganin and Khrushchev also carried this message to foreign capitals, where the two bulky leaders were quickly dubbed the "B. & K. road show."

In 1957, however, Bulganin's survival instinct failed; he sided with Malenkov and others in the so-called "anti-party" plot to remove Khrushchev as First Secretary of the party. The coup failed, and Khrushchev gradually eased Bulganin from office; he drifted from job to job until retiring in 1960.

SOUTH ASIA

Arms and the Ban

Relations between India and the U.S.—uneven at best in recent years—turned worse last week. Reason: Washington lifted its decade-old arms embargo on Pakistan, paving the way for Islamabad to buy antitank and anti-aircraft missiles, as well as multipurpose fighter-bombers, on a cash basis. In return, there is speculation that Pakistan may give the U.S. a naval base at the Arabian Sea port of Gwadar.

The arms-embargo decision had been more or less expected ever since Pakistan Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's visit to Washington last month. Essentially, the Administration's rationale for lifting an embargo that has applied to all countries of the subcontinent since 1965 was that 1) Pakistan, which was Henry Kissinger's bridge to a rapprochement with China in 1971, has proved itself a good friend to Washington; 2) India, in addition to manufacturing its own arms, receives sophisticated weaponry from the Soviet Union, giving it virtual military dominance over the subcontinent; and 3) Bhutto warned Washington that Pakistan might try to develop a nuclear bomb to counter India's atomic capacity if the U.S. did not assist it in acquiring more up-to-date weapons.

India, which technically can also buy U.S. arms now, though it is unlikely to do so, reacted immediately and bitterly to the Washington move. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi spoke out against "Pakistan's new belligerence," and at week's end visiting Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko joined with New Delhi in a communiqué expressing "grave anxiety at the actions taken by certain quarters to step up the arms race." Indian Foreign Minister Y.B. Chavan, who was scheduled to preside with Kissinger over the first meet-



BULGANIN (LEFT) & KHRUSHCHEV (1956)
Road shows and cocktail coexistence.

THE WORLD

ing of an Indo-U.S. Joint Commission that had been set up to improve ties, canceled out.

New Delhi's angry response to the embargo repeal was inspired in part by a feeling that Pakistan would not have attacked India during the 1965 and 1971 wars unless it had been well supplied with American arms.

Whatever the reason, India's resentment about what it feels is a renewed Washington "tilt" toward Pakistan will not make life easier for William Saxbe, the U.S. new Ambassador to India, who was in Bangkok when the embargo was lifted. Saxbe went to some pains to point out that he opposed the Administration's decision, although he said he was obliged to support it. Even though ranking State Department officials are confident that the storm "will blow over pretty soon," the spectacle of the U.S. ambassador sightseeing in Thailand to delay taking up his post in India is a poor omen for his tenure.

KING BIRENDRA & QUEEN AISHWARYA



PRINCE CHARLES & PHILIPPINE FIRST LADY IMELDA MARCOS AT FESTIVITIES



NEPAL

Coronation in Katmandu

The pace of the modernization of Nepal is inversely proportional to the number of elephants that have been employed at its three most recent coronation ceremonies. The coronation of King Tribhuvan in 1913—witnessed by only one foreigner, the resident British ambassador—required the services of 109 elephants. The crowning of King Mahendra in 1956, attended by representatives of 15 of the growing number of nations with which the Himalayan kingdom then exchanged diplomats, required 43. For last week's coronation of King Birendra, the streets of Katmandu were aswarm with hundreds of foreign guests representing the some 60 countries with which Nepal now has relations. But only 23 elephants took part.

Assorted Maharajahs. Britain's Prince Charles was there with his grandfather, Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of India. So were the Crown Prince of Japan, the Governor General of Australia, the Presidents of Sri Lanka and Pakistan and the vice president of India. The somewhat modest U.S. delegation was headed by Presidential Counsel Philip Buchen and Senator Charles Percy of Illinois. Most prominent among the women guests was Imelda Marcos, First Lady of the Philippines, whose retinue of 40 included Mrs. Henry Ford II and Dr. and Mrs. Christiaan Barnard. They had been visiting the Marcoses in Manila and decided to come along for the party. Also on hand were a colorful assortment of maharajahs who, having lost their titles and privy purses in India, welcome the coronation of a Nepalese relative as a rare opportunity to display a little of their former princely glory.

Unfortunately, Katmandu's new electric-trolley line, the first in South

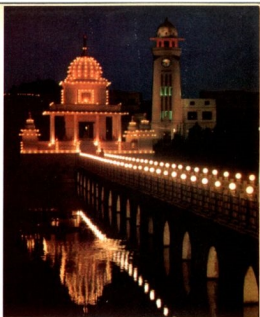
Asia, was not finished in time for the celebration. But colored lights were strung like necklaces across the trees and temples of the capital, and fountains were brilliantly illuminated. Western hippies, who for years have regarded Katmandu as a kind of real-life Shangri-la, were banished for the occasion; stray dogs were poisoned.

On the third morning of the festivities, King Birendra, 29, who actually took over the world's last Hindu monarchy three years ago after his father's death, rose early. Eight different kinds of clay were ceremonially applied to various parts of his body. After a ritual bathing with holy water, he was sprinkled with clarified butter, milk, curd and honey by representatives of the four traditional Hindu castes: a Brahmin, a warrior, a merchant and an Untouchable. Only then was Birendra—also known as the King of Kings, the Five Times Godly, the Valorous Warrior, the Divine Emperor and the reincarnation of Vishnu, god of preservation—ready to be crowned.

Queenly Beehive. At 8:37 a.m., the propitious moment selected by court astrologers more than a year earlier, the royal priest placed the mammoth jewel-encrusted crown on the King's head and a diamond tiara atop Queen Aishwarya's beehive hairdo. Then came salutes from the King's loyal subjects, starting with three-year-old Prince Deependra decked out in a miniature military uniform. For the afternoon parade—music was provided by regimental bands, including one of Nepalese bagpipers—the royal couple rode on the King's tusker elephant, Prem Prasad, while the other 22 elephants carried many of the distinguished guests through the city.

In his speech to his people, the young King, who feels a sense of mission to modernize his country, called for Nepal to enter a "new age" in which poverty and illiteracy would be overcome. Toward that end, he ordered his government to make primary education free to every child (at present only 13% of his 12 million subjects are literate). He emphasized that Nepal would continue to pursue a nonaligned foreign policy and remain scrupulously neutral in matters affecting its giant neighbors, India and China. By tradition the Nepalese have feared domination by India, and were greatly concerned when New Delhi absorbed their Himalayan neighbor, Sikkim, last year.

The King, who was educated at Eton and once studied at Harvard, also made it clear that the monarchy would remain absolute, even though he has set up a commission to study the possibilities of democratic reform. "The throne," he insisted, "embodies this country's sovereignty, integrity and national dignity."



Clockwise from left: King and Queen lead parade aboard Prem Prasad. Decorated temple in Katmandu at night. Painting elephant for celebration. Nepalese watching ceremony. Prince Deependra, 3, at coronation.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEAN PIERRE LAFFONT—SYGMA, AND GEORGE HUNTER



CARAVAGGIO'S "NATIVITY" (1598)



CÉZANNE'S "THIEVES AND THE DONKEY" (1890)

Clockwise from top left: Caravaggio's "Nativity," Cézanne's "Thieves and the Donkey," Piero della Francesca's "The Flagellation," Raphael's "The Mute," Piero della Francesca's "Madonna of Senigallia," and Matisse's "Girl in White."



MATISSE'S "GIRL IN WHITE" (1906)



RAFAEL'S "THE MUTE" (1505)



PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA'S "MADONNA OF SENIGALLIA" (1474)



PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA'S "THE FLAGELLATION" (1455)

The Plunder of the New Barbarians

On the morning of Feb. 6, Giovanni Spadolini walked into a committee room in Rome's Chamber of Deputies and got ready to debate. Three months earlier, Aldo Moro's center-left government had given him the newly invented and resonant-sounding portfolio of *Ministro dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali* (Minister of Cultural and Environmental Resources). Since then, Spadolini had been striving to get more money and protection for Italy's impoverished and vulnerable museums. Two new bills were ready to be argued. "Just as the debate was beginning," Spadolini recalls, "a colleague in the chamber came up to me and said, 'It's too late.'"

That afternoon the stricken minister scrambled out of a helicopter in the hill town of Urbino to visit the site of the worst art theft since World War II. Between midnight and 2 in the morning of Feb. 6, three paintings had been taken from Urbino's 15th century Ducal Palace. One was a portrait of an unknown noblewoman, nicknamed *The Mute*, by Raphael. The other two were by Piero della Francesca: *The Flagellation* and the *Madonna of Senigallia*.

Loss and Lobotomy. It was news to lock any art lover's spine with outrage. Raphael and Piero? Ever since Piero della Francesca was "resurrected" in the late 19th century, he has been to many people the epitome of 15th-century thought: the great artificer of volume and silvery space, the very essence of the relationship between mathematics and nature in which the *quattrocento's* self-image was rooted. No Renaissance painter has spoken more eloquently to the 20th century than Piero, with his vision of a sublimely abstract order dwelling in a thicket of concrete and manifest forms—figures, architecture, drapery; and because there were so few known paintings by him (apart from the great fresco cycle in Arezzo), the night's work in Urbino seemed less of a theft than a lobotomy. "The theft of the Raphael and the Piero della Francesca masterpieces is a loss beyond measurement," said Italy's leading art historian and critic Giulio Carlo Argan. "It's as though all the existing copies of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and the verses of Petrarch were suddenly to disappear from the face of the earth."

Followed as it was by the theft of 28 minor Impressionist and Post-Impressionist canvases from the Gallery of Modern Art in Milan, the Urbino disaster has raised, as never before, a swell of loss and indignation in Italy. It made clear that art theft has become one of the nation's industries. Since World War II roughly 44,000 works of art of all kinds have been sto-

len in Italy. They range from 13th-century Sienese Madonnas to chipped candlesticks, from the Ephebus of Selinunte (a superb archaic Greek bronze *kouros* lifted on behalf of a Sicilian group by a dim-witted legman who received \$700 for his trouble) to the Greco-Etruscan bric-a-brac that makes its weekly appearance in the Rome flea market. Of that 44,000, no fewer than 26,000 have been taken in the past eight years. The immediate postwar losses were severe; the pandemic corruption in the bureaucracy ensured that many a masterpiece stolen or extorted by the Fascists, and now serenely ensconced in American museums, got its export papers as a favor to this or that transatlantic dealer. But recently the curve has become exponential: a total of 5,843 works of art were reported stolen in 1972, 8,520 in 1973 and 10,952 last year.

Staff Problem. It is like taking candy from a cripple. "The personnel in charge of the museums, galleries and archaeological sites is absolutely insufficient," fumes Spadolini. Italy has 232 national and more than 300 local museums, of which only six have alarm systems. There are 3,850 guards on the state payroll, and these *custodi* have never been renowned for vigilance, speed or immunity to bribes. The staff problem is such that Venice's greatest gallery, the Accademia, had to close for a month last year for want of personnel. The 72,000 Italian churches are even more vulnerable. In Rome six months ago, two bandits hid inside S. Pietro in Vincoli (where Michelangelo's *Moses* is displayed) until closing time. Then they seized the lone 60-year-old sacristan, trussed him up like a goose and locked him into a confessional, cut two large Baroque canvases from their frames and strolled off into the night. In 1968 two exceptional 13th-century works—a *Madonna and Child* painted by Niccolò di Segna and a polychrome sculpture by Ramo di Paganello—were stolen from the Church of Monte Siepi at the Abbey of S. Galgano near Siena; they have not been seen since. In 1973 Caravaggio's *Nativity* was stolen from the high altar of the Oratory of S. Lorenzo in Palermo; it too is still missing.

Against such depredations, Italy's paramilitary carabinieri have had their successes. After one of the few undisputed paintings by Giorgione, the 6½-ft. by 4½-ft. *Madonna with Saints Lib-*

erale and Francis, was stolen from the cathedral of his home town of Castelfranco in 1972, the police found it within ten days an hour's drive away, in Padua. In 1970 thieves took a Giovanni Bellini, a *Holy Family* by Antonio Allegri and a *Portrait of a Youth* attributed to Antonello da Messina from the Malaspina museum in Pavia; only the last remains at large.

Art thefts, of course, are not confined to Italy. In May 1973, during the opening of an ethnographical exhibition in the Konstmuseum at Gothenburg in Sweden, someone made off with a major Matisse, the *Girl in White*. It was so

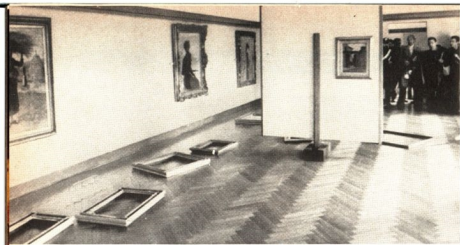
CIVIC MUSEUM, PAVIA



ANTONELLO DA MESSINA'S STOLEN PORTRAIT
One of the thousands still at large.

crudely sliced out of its frame that Matisse's signature was left dangling on a flap of canvas from the stretcher. The painting is still lost.

In France, where museum security is tighter than Italy's, most of the recent thefts have been from private collections; the preferred targets are tapestries and minor (hence easily negotiable) "blue chip" *Ecole de Paris* pictures: Rouault, Modigliani, Vuillard, Bonnard, Cézanne and the like. Major art thefts, whether for ransom or resale, have declined in England over the past few years, thanks to the formation of Scotland Yard's highly efficient art squad in 1968. "It simply does not pay criminals to steal works of art in this country," says London Art Dealer Hugh Leg-



EMPTY FRAMES THAT GREETED GUARDS IN MILAN'S GALLERY OF MODERN ART
A mad millionaire gloating over stolen masterpieces in solitude?

gatt. "The police in Britain have always been far ahead of their foreign counterparts in detecting and recovering lost works of art." In its first four years, the art squad—which now keeps a computer index of 5,000 missing works—recovered about \$30 million worth of paintings, sculpture and antiques.

Italy has the dubious distinction of suffering more thefts than any other nation. Clearly the pattern has changed, having moved from the spontaneous to the corporate. Rodolfo Siviero, the government's chief investigator of art theft, roundly states that "it's an international traffic conducted by a number of big-time receivers abroad." These 50 or so men, he believes, are not art dealers but organizers of what amounts to theft-for-investment. Their commission thefts, receive the goods, wait for them to cool (for years, if need be) and then discreetly launder them through a network of "honest" art dealers strung between Switzerland, Germany and the U.S.

Cranks and Bunkers. For this scenario, the Milan theft would be ideal—minor works by famous names, such as Cézanne's *Thieves and the Donkey* (see color page), that not one person in 10,000 would remember seeing on the museum wall years before. The chains of documentation for sales of art works are still remarkably weak. But sometimes a thief blunders and takes something unsalably famous. Siviero claims this is what happened in 1971, with the theft of Masaccio's *Madonna with Child and Memling's Portrait of a Gentleman* from Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. "The thieves found that even after two or three years they couldn't sell them, and we were able to recover them." He hopes that the fame of the Raphael and the Pieros will likewise result in their recovery. "The thieves couldn't sell that Raphael if they waited ten or 100 years."

On the other hand, if a crank or an ignoramus took the Urbino paintings, they may have been jettisoned or destroyed by now, in panic. Siviero is inclined to discount the concrete-bunker theory—the mad millionaire gloating over stolen masterpieces in solitude. The collector, he believes, "wants to be able

to enjoy the possession and to show it off." That leaves the extortion hypothesis: the work of art taken either to get a ransom or some political favor. In fact, however, the few ransom demands that have been made have turned out to be phony. Even if they were real, they would not work, Siviero claims. "If a child is snatched, the family will do anything to get it back. But there is no such basic emotional attachment to a painting. And the state certainly would not—must not—pay ransom."

For all this, it is easy to blame the thieves, the fences, the government or even Italy itself. The nation is burdened with the cornucopia of a past that its present cannot protect or even use coherently. But the blame also lies elsewhere. For the past 15 years, every literate person in Europe and the U.S. has been molded by the incessant pressure of propaganda about art as a commodity: by museums which flaunt their directorial machismo by advertising the prices of their million-dollar acquisitions; by witless journalists whose only peg for discussing art is its price; by collectors who grub for investment; and by the horde of dealers, ranging from the little sharks to the dignified auction-room gents with faces like silver teapots, who have striven to give art the primary function of bullion. The present epidemic of art theft is ultimately their responsibility. In one day last week, in one Italian district—the Abruzzi—thieves made off with a 12th century Madonna and Child, a 13th century reclining Madonna and a 14th century silver reliquary attributed to Giacomo di Sulmona. In the whole week more than 180 works of art were stolen in Italy; an average of 27 a day, one every six hours from churches in Tuscany alone. One may safely bet that by 1980 most of these things—some trivial, some precious in their testimony to lost hierarchies of consciousness—will have gone through the big auction houses or been sold by "respectable" private dealers in Europe or the U.S. That is what the art market comes down to: a brutish mugging that never stops. Urbino has turned every public work of art into a paranoid object.

THE THEATER

Larky Gangsters

HAPPY END

Book and Lyrics by BERTOLT BRECHT
Music by KURT WEILL

Bertolt Brecht sought refuge in the U.S. in 1941 and went to Hollywood "to join the market where lies are bought."

Happy End, a musical currently revived by New Haven's Yale Repertory Theater, is really a larky 1929 gangster movie. The setting is Chicago in Bill Cracker's gin mill. Bill (Charles Levin) is very tough but no match for the Lady in Gray, otherwise known as "the Fly" (Elizabeth Parrish).

She masterminds a gang of bank-robbing thugs with monikers like "the Professor," "the Reverend" and "Mammy" (Jeremy Geidt), who are all kept in line by Dr. Nakamura. Made up to look like Dr. Fu Manchu and with an accent to match, Alvin Epstein plays this role with hysterical finesse. Enter a Salvation Army lassie, "Hallelujah Lil" (Stephanie Cottrill). She falls for Bill, and redeeming social values ensue.

The Yale troupe invests the silly plot with style, wit and perfect timing. The score is something more—a Kurt Weill marvel. Not only were the famous *Bilbao Song* and *Surabaya Johnny* written for this musical, but also half a dozen other numbers of rare distinction. They range from *Song of the Big Shot* ("Just don't get soft, baby! For god's sake never get soft, baby! No ifs or buts! Go on and kick him in the guts! Go on and kick him in the guts.") to *Throw Out the Lifeline—Soul Overboard*. By turns, the music is astringent, lyrical, opulently erotic and as jazzily smoky as a 1920s saxophone.

Inevitably, this show will eventually find itself some off-Broadway niche—one hopes with this director (Michael Posnick) and this cast. ■ T.E. Kalem

GEIDT & EPSTEIN IN HAPPY END



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That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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They don't change things much in Perth.

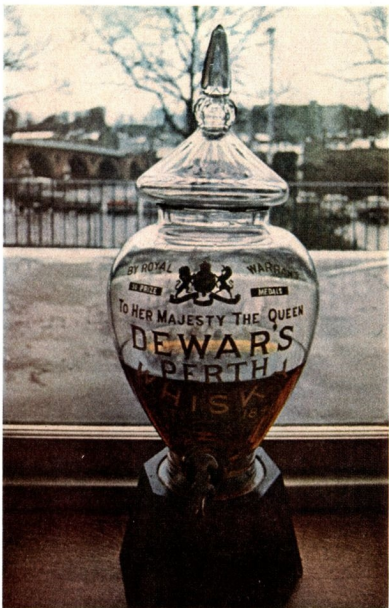
A hundred years ago a guest at the Royal George tavern would sit in this window and watch the ancient river flow by the ancient city. He would also see a large crystal dispenser. It contained a fine Scotch whisky that was famous even then.

The guest today sees nothing very different. And he too enjoys a drop of the same grand whisky dispensed from the same generous container.

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PEOPLE

BOB PERK



JANE FONDA IN LENINGRAD CONJURES AN EERIE LOOK FOR HER ROLE AS "NIGHT"



PRINCESS CHRISTINA WITH FIANCÉ JORGE

The men have all the good roles in Hollywood these days, which may explain why so many actresses have packed off to Leningrad for a part in *The Blue Bird*, a film based on Maurice Maeterlinck's allegorical fairy tale. **Jane Fonda** seized the occasion to make political statements to reporters. ("... It's not in the Soviet Union where civil liberties are most infringed, but in South Viet Nam.") In the movie Fonda is cast as **Night**, **Ava Gardner** as **Luxury**, **Cicely Tyson** as **Cat**, while **Elizabeth Taylor** plays **Light**, **Witch**, **Mother** and **Maternal Love**. Director **George Cukor**'s difficulties in communicating with Soviet artists and cameramen has threatened the film's projected summer completion. "I'm sending for my children to be with me for Easter," Mother Taylor told Fonda. "And Christmas."

"We wait in line like everybody else, and we get rained on like everybody else," explained Cuban-born **Jorge Guillermo**, the assistant director of a day-care center in Manhattan. Still, when Guillermo, 29, and his fiancée, 28, a French and music teacher in New York City, travel to The Hague to be married this summer, the ceremonies will be more than a city hall affair. The bride: **Princess Christina**, youngest daughter of **Queen Juliana** and **Prince Bernhard** of The Netherlands. Christina, partially blind since birth, and her husband will begin married life in New York with a royal blessing. "We are sure this will be a very happy marriage," says Queen Juliana, an opinion Bernhard says he underwrites "1000%."

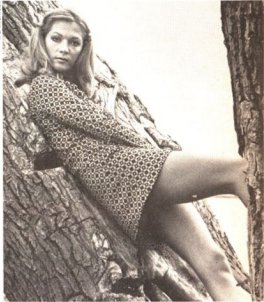
"He was a real gentleman, just as congenial as he could be," reported California highway patrol Captain **Otie Hunter**, after **Ford II**, 57, had been arrested for driving left of center on a street near Santa Barbara, Calif. By Ford's side was pretty, red-haired **Kathleen DuRoss**, 35, a sometime model for the Ford Motor Co. (Ford's wife Cris-



FORD AT HOME IN GROSSE POINTE

tina was off in Katmandu at the coronation of the King of Nepal.) When Ford flunked a roadside sobriety test (he was asked to recite the alphabet), he was handcuffed and taken to Santa Barbara Hospital for a blood test, then to the county jail, where he was booked for drunken driving. After four hours in a holding cell, he posted his own \$375 bail and returned to Detroit. So did DuRoss, a Grosse Pointe mother of two whose musician husband was killed in an auto accident 16 years ago. DuRoss has been seen in public a few times with the same former Italian consul who occasionally squired Cristina around when Henry was out of town. Ford's only comment about the incident: "Never complain, never explain."

"Have you hugged your kid today?" asks one of the new columns in some 20 South Carolina newspapers. The columnist is **Nancy Thurmond**, 28, Miss South Carolina of 1966, and the wife of Senator **Strom Thurmond**, 72. Though she admits that she is a newcomer to



FORD'S FRIEND DUROSS STRIKING A MODEL'S POSE

child rearing (her own kids are only 11 months, 2 and 3), Nancy has completed three installments of her feature titled "Mother's Medicine," and hopes that her advice will "make the day go better" for some of her husband's constituents.

He flew it only once, for about 60 seconds back in 1947. After that, the giant *Spruce Goose* flying boat, designed by Industrialist **Howard Hughes**, never again took to the air. The eight-engine wooden plane, built by the Hughes Tool Co. and a Government defense agency, was obsolescent even before its one brief hop. Last week the General Services Administration announced that the bird, which has been stored in Long Beach, Calif., will be carved up and its pieces displayed at the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum and other institutions.

Hail Nero Shero and His Bullies!

To the Editors:

Hockey [Feb. 24] is a sport of grace and finesse—a flowing, whirling, incredibly fast spectacle of great beauty and only occasional explosions of violence. Fred Shero and his bush-league bullies are perverting this finest of games and transforming it into a scene of bloody brutality and mindless pugilism more suitable to the ancient Roman arena.

Hail Nero Shero!

(Mrs.) Ruth Racheter
Cold Spring, N.Y.

Violence can be construed as the "essence" of hockey only in the sense that it is the attraction for the multitude who do not appreciate. To the true fan, violence is simply an inherent and (to an extent) controllable byproduct of this highly charged game in which emotion often gets the better of one's social graces.

While I deplore the Forbes-Boucha incident and acknowledge the need to further clean up the game, I would warn also against creeping alarmism.

Jim Karas
Lansing, Mich.

Despite the recent indignation over violence in professional hockey, it should not be surprising that the spectator following should be so rabid, particularly in the congested metropolitan areas where legitimate expressions of violence are so limited. Many of the "silent majority" who feel so frustrated, angry and helpless today can readily identify with the beleaguered, assaulted hero of the "war on ice." They experience a vicarious satisfaction from the open aggression and mayhem on the ice, and indeed, it is powerfully exhilarating to let one's emotions "all hang out."

The ultimate question, of course: Is it worth the price—not only in terms of the ticket price but of the costs to the gladiators? Also, in terms of any greater social benefit, is there less violent crime in Philadelphia the nights the Flyers are playing in the Spectrum? Until enough people decide it is not worth the price, we may expect little change in the trend toward increasing violence in hockey and other contact sports.

W. Walter Menninger, M.D.
Topeka, Kans.

Dr. Menninger, of the Menninger Foundation, is clinical director of the Topeka State Hospital and a former mem-

ber of President Johnson's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Betty Ford's Equal Rights

Betty Ford's decision to become actively involved in the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment [March 3] is to be commended. Considerable misinformation has been circulated by opponents of ERA, and it is good to know that Mrs. Ford is helping to set the record straight.

On the more general question of the proper role of a First Lady with regard to public issues, I believe our First Ladies should be free to enter the political thicket whenever they think it appropriate. Some First Ladies have shunned nearly all public involvement; others have concentrated on noncontroversial causes; and a few, like Eleanor Roosevelt, have been in the forefront of the struggle for

social and political change. There is no right or wrong answer; there is only the personal answer each First Lady gives.

Eleanor McGovern
Washington, D.C.

Tory Margaret

For the first time in my life as an American, I envy something Britain has: Tory Margaret Thatcher [Feb. 24]. Her defense of "middle-class interests," espousal of rewards for skill and hard work, and resistance to the excessive power of the state strike a tiny bell of recognition, reminding us that we used to have representatives who spoke in this fashion. May I say, "We could use you here, Margaret?"

William P. Earley
Worcester, Mass.

For six years the British press has referred to Shirley Williams, Minister for Consumer Prices, as likely to be the first British woman Prime Minister. Mrs. Thatcher is not Prime Minister yet, and the other choice, encouraged by the press here, should not be forgotten.

Sir George Catlin
London

Sir George Catlin is the father of Shirley Williams.

Abortive Verdict?

Regarding the case of Dr. Kenneth Edelin [Mar. 3]: on Friday the judge charges the jury that for a guilty verdict they must be certain "beyond a reasonable doubt" that Dr. Edelin is guilty of manslaughter. On Saturday the jury is certain, the verdict "guilty." Soon a juror is telling reporters she regrets her "guilty" vote. Another juror is "clicking his heels" in happiness over the light sentence, and still another is "tickled pink" for the same reason. Since their verdict could have sent a man to jail for 20 years, isn't it imperative that we educate potential jurors to the meaning of "beyond a reasonable doubt"?

Barbara L. Perkins
Attleboro, Mass.

The conviction of Dr. Edelin is the beginning of a new sense of respect for human life. The question of survival was not an issue; the question of the right of life was. While abortion is a sensitive issue to many people, the idea that a woman and her doctor can play the role of God and decide when to terminate life is totally unacceptable.

Robert F. Kucbel
McLean, Va.

The Edelin trial proves nothing but that we are still trying to impose metaphysics upon the law when history has repeatedly shown that the result is nothing but a list of martyrs. Viability is for the physicians, the godliness of a seed for the theologians. While a fetus is still a part of a woman's body and the birth certificate is unsigned, the state has the rights of only one citizen within its jurisdiction: those of the woman patient.

Muriel B. Rosenberg
Cambridge, Mass.

To condemn a fetus to death because it is "only potentially a person" is like condemning the dawn because it is only potentially a day.

(The Rev.) Gregory Chamberlin, O.S.B.
Saint Meinrad College
Saint Meinrad, Ind.

The world's best fetologists cannot agree among themselves when viability begins. Pathologists with the evidence in their hands cannot agree on the exact gestational age of this particular fetus. But the jury in the Edelin trial can agree. So certain are they, that they convicted a man of manslaughter.

The anti-abortionists who began this farce don't give two hoots in hell for the life of that fetus. But they needed a goat, and on a certain day in October 1973 it just happened to be Dr. Edelin.

Steven B. Sitzman, M.D.
Lexington, Mass.





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Total Cadillac Value. It explains a lot of things.



States' Rights and Oil

Because of our proximity to the Georges Bank oil and gas leasing tracts, Massachusetts has a deep interest in the exploration and development of the Outer Continental Shelf [March 3].

Current federal policies have virtually ignored the potential economic, social and environmental impacts of off-shore and on-shore development of OCS reserves.

The all-important estimates of the location and amount of OCS reserves are hopelessly inaccurate. There are no guarantees, at least in New England, that lower fuel costs will result from development off our shores. And there is no federal program compensating the states for the potentially grave social and environmental costs involved.

The 50 states and the Federal Government must fashion a coherent national energy program that addresses these problems. We must develop the Outer Continental Shelf in an orderly fashion. Exploration must be separated from leasing and development. It should begin promptly, and it should involve both state and federal governments.

The exploration period will permit states to complete their coastal zone management plans so that Outer Continental Shelf resources can be developed without serious disruption of social and environmental goals.

*Michael S. Dukakis, Governor
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Boston*

The Watergate Three

The sentencing of the "big three," John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman and John Mitchell, to prison [March 3] will be of no benefit to society if these men are paying for their room and board and allowing them leisure to write their lucrative memoirs.

Serving the public without compensation in their various fields of law would seem more just for all concerned. The poor would have the benefit of their expertise, and our tax money would be better spent than on their incarceration. Humility will come to these men only while working among those faces that were blurred while the three were seeking the power that ironically brought them down.

*Bette Evans Piemont
Westland, Mich.*

Bye-Bye, Blackbirds

The Army has once again overlooked the obvious solution to the Kentucky "birdbath" [March 3]. If my mother's singing was correct, four-and-twenty blackbirds can be baked in a pie.

So there are enough birds for some 208,333 pies, a welcome alternative to the Army's traditional S O S cuisine.

*Allan H. Ebenstein
New York City*

Where is the humanity in the slaughter of 5 million blackbirds in Christian County, Ky.? Surely in all of man's so-called advanced technology there exists a more compassionate way of controlling these birds than spraying them with detergent and leaving them to die of exposure. What became of the Christian in Christian County?

*Wendy A. Burgess
Hackensack, N.J.*

What's the big deal with the blackbirds? The surplus should be harvested, not controlled. We took a starling pie to Thanksgiving dinner, and it was the hit of the day. Starlings are a very tasty bird.

*Al and Jeanne Freshwater
Charleston, Ore.*

Recession Note

What a great commentary on the present state of the U.S. economy—a photograph of Alan Greenspan, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers [Feb. 24], displaying a hole in the sole of his shoe.

*Betsy Twigg
Arlington, Va.*

The Alexian Way

To my comments concerning the Menominee Indians and the precedent that we Alexian Brothers set in acceding to the violence of pressure groups [Feb. 17], we have a reply: we already had precedents to follow in the terminating of violent or potentially violent social dissent: Orangeburg, Kent State, Jackson State and Attica.

We wanted to set a new precedent—a nonviolent and reconciling one. To "deed or death" we wanted to say "life and peace."

*Brother Warren Longo, C.F.A.
Alexian Brothers
Chicago*

Watt Price Glory

Eating by candlelight [Feb. 24] may be a good publicity stunt to dramatize the rising cost of electricity, but it is no way to save money. Even after the recent rate increases, electricity costs no more than about a dime per kw-h.

From a little experiment in which I measured the burning times of different candles bought at a local store, I have concluded that candlelight costs on the order of 4¢ per hour per candle, i.e., 40 times more than electric light from a 7½-watt bulb. Electricity thus remains an excellent buy for lighting purposes.

*Thomas Laaspere, Professor of
Engineering, Dartmouth College
Hanover, N.H.*

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MILESTONES

Separated. San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, 59, and Angelina Alioto, 59, his wife of 33 years, Mrs. Alioto started her husband last year by disappearing for a 17-day tour of California missions during Alioto's unsuccessful gubernatorial bid, later chiding him publicly for neglecting her. Last week the mayor said he was startled once again, when a reporter phoned his office in midday to disclose that Angelina had filed for divorce, asking the court for alimony and a substantial chunk of Alioto's estimated \$6 million estate.

Died. Elijah Muhammad, 77, spiritual leader of the black separatist Nation of Islam; of congestive heart failure; in Chicago (see RELIGION).

Died. Nikolai Bulganin, 79, cold war Soviet Premier (1955-58), protégé of Stalin and Khrushchev; of undisclosed causes "after a serious protracted illness"; in Moscow (see THE WORLD).

Died. General Wilhelm D. Styer, 81, commander of the U.S. Army in the Western Pacific in the final months of World War II; in Coronado, Calif. A 1916 graduate of West Point, Styer saw action against Pancho Villa's guerrillas in Mexico and in the trenches of the Western Front in 1917. While returning to Washington to join the Army General Staff in 1918, he survived the torpedoing of his troopship. In World War II, he served as a liaison officer with scientists developing the atomic bomb, witnessed the Japanese surrender in the Philippines, and headed the military tribunal that convicted Japan's General Tomoyuki Yamashita and sentenced him to death for wartime atrocities.

Died. Marcel Grandjany, 83, French-born harpist and professor at the Juilliard School of Music; in Manhattan. Grandjany's gifts as performer and composer helped raise the harp from a musical decoration to a full-fledged solo instrument. Among his compositions: *The Colorado Trail*, *Children's Hour*, and *Fantasy for Harp*.

Died. Lionel Tertis, 98, English viola virtuoso; in London. Born in 1876, on the same day as Cellist Pablo Casals, Tertis campaigned successfully to persuade composers to write solo pieces for his chosen instrument. For more than four decades Tertis was Europe's premier violist, playing with such friends as Casals and Pianist Artur Schnabel, who joined him for a celebrated recital of Brahms' *C Minor Piano Quartet* during a London blackout in World War II. The Tertis viola, which he designed after his retirement, remains the choice of many leading concert performers.

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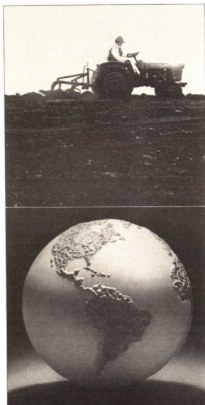
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The Bullets Are Biting

Detroit's Cobo Hall was jumping. In one sector of the huge entertainment complex pro tennis players were trading shots with muscular precision. A second area was awl with the lithe acrobatics of a track meet. On the Arena's basketball court the hometown Pistons were preparing to play the Washington Bullets. In that three-ring atmosphere, the management appropriately promised that costumed "clowns will perform throughout the game." The unintended reference ultimately proved embarrassing to the Pistons. Treating them like part of the sideshow, the Bullets won by 25 points and reinforced the claim that under the N.B.A.'s big top they are now the main attraction.

After six seasons of second billing in the play-offs—usually below the New York Knicks—the Bullets appear to be on target at last. With one month to go in the regular season, they have gunned their way to a 13-game lead over their closest rivals in the league's Central Division. More important, they have surged in front of the Boston Celtics in the race to ring up the best record in the N.B.A. Should they finish ahead of the Celtics—and everyone else—they will earn the advantage of playing the extra game of a seven-game play-off

series on their home court. That is no trifling benefit. The Bullets are well nigh unbeatable at home with a record of 27-3 and a winning streak that by last week had stretched through 20 games.

Center Wes Unseld, the shortest and burliest in the league, limps along on bad knees; yet he uses his bulk efficiently and leads the league in rebounds. Forward Mike Riordan is still noted for defensive tactics that befitted a bouncer, but he has also developed into a competent shooter. Guard Kevin Porter, at 5 ft. 11 in. a Lilliputian by pro basketball standards, owns the league lead in personal fouls, but is also one of the liveliest players on any court.

Recent Convert. Offensive Stars Phil Chenier and Elvin Hayes do not evoke the raves accorded more publicized stars like Walt Frazier and Rick Barry. They should. Chenier is averaging 21.9 points per game and is fifth in the league in steals. He leads all N.B.A. guards in blocking shots. Hayes, a 6 ft. 9 in. forward with a deft jump shot from the left side of the court, is finally living down the reputation of being more interested in his own rather than the team's performance. He still leads the Bullets in scoring, with an average of 22.4 points per game, but he is also top man in blocking shots. Religion has played a role in Hayes' switch to being a team player. A recent convert to Pentecostalism, Hayes carries a Bible to study on trips.

To back up the starting five, the Bullets have a deep and able bench. Says Hayes, "You must have that dimension to win." Reserve Guard Jimmy Jones, a six-time All-Star in the rival A.B.A., and second-year Forward Nick Weatherspoon, a member of last year's All-Rookie team, provide that dimension.

The man who turned this disparate collection of players into a unified league beater is soft-speaking, second-year Coach K.C. Jones. A paradigm of defensive skill during his nine seasons with the Boston Celtics, Jones insists that his players complement their effective fast break with unrelenting defensive pressure. As a result, the Bullets are now the second stingiest team in the league. "We believe offense is for shooters and defense is for all five guys," says Jones. "Fortunately, our starters are all shooters."

"The biggest thing we have going for us," says Team Captain Unseld, "is our desire to win for the coach." Says Hayes: "He brought us a champion-

ship attitude. He's not a yelling, screaming kind of coach." Not that Jones is incapable of venting his wrath when the Bullets misfire. Says Unseld: "He can lose his temper and look at you, and you want to get right out of his way."

Unfortunately for the rest of the league, the Bullets have given Jones few opportunities to show that temper. At this point, they rate as co-favorites with the defending champion Celtics to win the N.B.A. title, and all the signs are propitious. A recent home game marked the reappearance of Dancing Harry, a high-stepping fan who is a master at putting the funky hex on opponents. Harry abandoned the Bullets four seasons ago and began to prance for the Knicks. New York won the championship a year later. Last season Harry cast his shimmying spells for the New York Nets in the A.B.A., and they won their league championship. Now, with the '75 Bullets mowing down their opponents, they may not even need Harry's help.

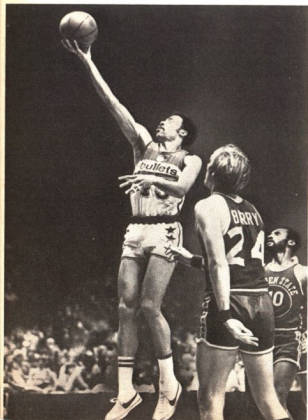
East Africa's Army

When Tanzanian Miler Filbert Bayi first appeared in international meets three years ago, other runners viewed his style with disdain. Instead of pacing himself and saving a kick for the last quarter-mile, Bayi sprinted from the gun. His opponents, recalls Hurdler Tom Hill, "used to sit back at their old pace and say, 'Wow, this fool is going to drop dead on the third lap.'" Trouble was, Bayi never did. He began to make a habit of leaving astonished stars behind him. Last year at the Commonwealth Games in New Zealand, Bayi atomized Jim Ryun's seven-year-old 1,500-meter world record with a time of 3:32.2—equivalent to a 3:49.2 mile. This winter, in his debut on the U.S. indoor circuit, he has kept up the pressure. Although the smaller indoor ovals have forced him to run more cautiously, Bayi has swept all his races, including last week's AAU championships in New York City.

Bayi is not the first East African to run into the record books. Kenyan Kip Keino won the 1,500-meter gold medal in the 1968 Olympics. Fellow Countryman Ben Jipcho is history's second fastest miler, and Ugandan John Akii-Bua holds the world record in the 400-meter hurdles. Now a veritable army of runners from East Africa is readying for the Montreal Olympics next year.

Bayi is the prototype. A streamlined 5 ft. 9 in., 135 lbs., he glides along with the grace of a gazelle and the stamina of a steer. Unlike most long-distance runners, whose faces are studies in agony after the first lap, Bayi, 21, almost looks as if he is out for a leisurely Sunday lope; occasionally, he can be seen smiling faintly when his lead turns in-

GUARD PHIL CHENIER DRIVING FOR LAY-UP



surmountable. His only concessions to strain are frequent glances over his shoulder to see if anyone has kept up.

For other milers, his speed can be frightening. Outdoors, where he does not have to trim his pace, Bayi regularly runs the first half-mile in the low 1:50s. When Ryun broke the world record, he made the first half in 1:58.9. With his rocketing initial spurt, Bayi has changed the entire strategy of the mile. "We have to get up and go from the start now," says New Zealander Rod Dixon, who placed third in the 1,500 meters in Munich. Says Bayi modestly: "It's just my style. I'm not trying to psych anyone." Except himself. Last year, when he tried running with the pack, he was so rattled by the traffic that he fell and was spiked. Now he looks at the scar and says: "I am training only as a front runner."

Running for Fun. Back home, that training involves running twice a day in Dar es Salaam, where Bachelor Bayi is an air force lieutenant and flight mechanic. Mornings he runs cross-country, covering about ten miles. After working on the cargo planes, he heads out for two hours of sprints, ranging from 100 to 1,000 meters. His program was the suggestion of an East German track coach who advised Bayi during a visit to Tanzania two years ago.

Before that, Bayi, like most East African runners, had no formal coaching. He learned to run long distances in the

fields around Karatu, his home town, located about 130 miles from the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro. For added sport, he dodged the leopards that hunted in the same area ("I had to throw stones at one once," says Bayi coolly. "He went his way, and I went mine"). In those days, he had "no program. I was just running for fun."

Today, as Kenya and Tanzania gear up for the Olympics, coaches are still in short supply—to say nothing of good tracks and equipment (some runners turn up at their first meet without track shoes). But running is no longer informal. Tanzania's ruling party has made sports a must for national development. Schoolchildren have to travel five to ten miles to school on foot, and they are required to run, not walk. Last month 72 aspiring young Olympians converged on Dar es Salaam for jobs, schooling and training by Tanzanian coaches.

In Kenya, despite the lack of a government program, at least four world-class competitors are already in the running for the distance medals waiting in Montreal. At the same time, Stephen Chepkwony, an army private, is preparing to challenge American supremacy in the 400-meter sprint. His 45.2 clocking in Australia in January is the fastest time in the world this year. Before the East Africans are finished, they may make Swahili the language of record in track.

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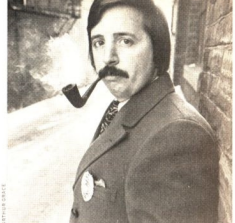
One Very Bad Cop

More than any other policeman in Vermont, Paul D. Lawrence, 30, had a reputation in drug circles as one tough cop. In his six years on the drug beat, first as a state trooper and then on various local forces, Lawrence racked up some 600 drug convictions. He never failed to turn up incriminating evidence. Police and counterculturalists agreed that his record was almost too good—or too bad—to be true. As it turned out, bad was the right word.

Big Drug Buster. Last week Governor Thomas Salmon was contemplating an extraordinary letter from Francis Murray, the Chittenden County (Burlington) prosecutor, asking him to pardon all 600 of those convicted on Lawrence's testimony. Lawrence, the prosecutor pointed out, faced up to 16 years in prison after being found guilty of turning in false arrest affidavits and giving false information to a police officer. The big drug buster apparently arrested anyone he was suspicious of, often supplying the narcotics evidence himself and claiming he had made a buy from the alleged pusher. Judges, and in a few cases even juries, simply took Lawrence's word.

As his story unraveled in court, it became clear that Lawrence had rarely been more than one quick step ahead of discovery. Somehow, he became a cop in 1966, despite a youthful arrest for illegal possession of liquor and an Army discharge for "behavioral disorders" after three AWOL incidents in seven months of service. He was with the state police from 1968 to 1972 and quit shortly after his squad-car windshield was apparently shot out from the inside when he was alone on patrol. His record also included the beating of a man he had arrested. After that, a brief stint as a tobacco salesman came and went amidst claims by his employers that a cache of cigarettes had mysteriously disappeared. Lawrence then managed to get a job as chief of the four-man police force in the small town of Vergennes; he left a year later, this time just before being fired for questionable drug arrests and hyperactive enforcement of speed limits.

He next became an officer assigned to the drug beat in St. Albans. There, defense attorneys soon noted that an unusually high percentage of their clients claimed that Lawrence had framed them. The lawyers persuaded the state defender general to hire a private detective, who filed a 30-page report a year



UNDERCOVER POLICEMAN LAWRENCE
Always one jump ahead of his past.

ago that was highly critical of Lawrence's activities. The state attorney general, who was busy running for reelection, shelved the charges as unsubstantiated. By then, the St. Albans police had lent Lawrence to Burlington to work on undercover drug enforcement there. That was the end of the line.

At about the same time that a fellow policeman became suspicious of Lawrence's too-easy arrests, a reporter approached the local prosecutor's office with stories of Lawrence's past. A spe-



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THE LAW

cial undercover policeman brought in from Brooklyn (for his expertise and to assure that he would not be recognized) was pointed out to Lawrence as a suspected drug dealer. Then, while police watched from hiding, Lawrence approached the planted "pusher," but exchanged neither words nor money with him. Nonetheless, Lawrence later filled out an arrest affidavit and claimed he had bought a nickel (\$5) bag of heroin. At Lawrence's trial, one girl he had arrested testified to another Lawrence technique. She was hitchhiking, she said, and he picked her up, offered her dinner and a few sniffs of cocaine, then asked her to spend the night with him. She refused; two weeks later he busted her for selling him drugs.

Case-by-Case. Officials are still trying to find out exactly how and where Lawrence got the drugs that he turned in as evidence. Further charges are pending over his use of the money he was given to make his supposed buys. Meanwhile, Prosecutor Murray has requested the mass pardons from Governor Salmon. Though state officials contend that some of the convictions were valid, Attorney General M. Jerome Diamond concedes that it will now be necessary to begin a case-by-case review of every Lawrence arrest. It might also be advisable to review the hiring practices of Vermont towns that may be more anxious to ferret out drugs than bad cops.

Legal Briefs

► The Supreme Court decided last year that under federal rules, anyone bringing a class action must notify all other potential parties to the suit (TIME, June 10). That tough interpretation put a stop to such far-reaching actions as one brought on behalf of "all U.S. citizens." Sensible as that seemed, critics were quick to point out that many legitimate consumer suits would also go down the drain—as Sandra Lee Cartt has just found out. Car Owner Cartt, an elementary school teacher in San Fernando, Calif., had wondered about Standard Oil of California's claims that its F-310 gasoline reduced air pollution. When she tested the gas, she found that pollution actually increased. Later and independently, the Federal Trade Commission charged that some of the F-310 advertising was false. Cartt meanwhile had brought suit on behalf of all Standard's California customers to recover the extra nickel that each gallon of F-310 cost. A federal judge ruled that the suit could not proceed until she notified each of the 700,000 Standard credit-card holders in the state. That would cost her at least \$42,000, and Cartt now reports that her efforts to raise the money from interested consumer groups have failed. As a result, so will her class action unless she manages to persuade an appeals court to ease her notification burden.

► Aware that most state unemployment insurance programs do not cover such groups as farm laborers, domestics or Government employees, Congress decided three months ago to give those workers federal benefits for up to 26 weeks. The act provided for payment to anyone who was not covered by state insurance but otherwise met the state's definition of unemployed. Astute educators read the fine print and asked an important question: Since those who teach in publicly supported schools or colleges are Government employees, are they not eligible for annual summer unemployment benefits when classes are not in session? The answer varies from state to state, even though it is the Federal Government that pays the bills. Indiana has already said that its teachers do qualify under that state's definition of unemployment. New Jersey and other states are contemplating similar decisions. But even if all 50 states followed suit, by no means would all 2.5 million teachers qualify. Many take summer jobs. Others have all-year-round contracts. Still others study, or would be otherwise uninclined to meet the common requirement that those on unemployment relief be "ready and willing" to take a job in their field. Finally, federal officials expect—or hope—that at least some teachers would be too scrupulous to apply for funds obviously meant for the "truly" unemployed.

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Cop-Out on Copying

As a small publisher of medical journals and books, the Williams & Wilkins Co. of Baltimore felt that it was being done in by the Xerox machine. The expanding practice of photocopying had led to the duplication of more and more articles and excerpts from more and more publications. Williams & Wilkins concluded that its copyrights were being infringed and went to court. The company sued the biggest offender, the U.S. Government, whose National Institutes of Health and National Library of Medicine had duplicated a total of 2.2 million pages from all sources in 1970 alone. It was the first case to raise the issue, and when it reached the Supreme Court, no fewer than 19 interested groups, from the Authors League to the American Medical Association, rushed to file friend-of-court briefs.

Last week the court reported that it was unable to come to a decision. With Harry Blackmun disqualifying himself, the remaining eight Justices split 4-4, a vote that left standing the decision of a lower court. That decision by the U.S. Court of Claims had been in favor of the Government copiers; it had rejected the findings of one of its commissioners, who had decided for Williams & Wilkins (TIME, May 1, 1972).

More lawsuits are sure to raise the issue again. But before that happens, Congress may yet resolve the matter. For the past decade, it has been trying and failing to replace the current copyright law, which dates from 1909, and this year it is expected finally to pass a new law. Many copyright experts favor some kind of compromise, for example, legislation providing for a payment by subscribing organizations that want the right to duplicate. But no one can predict whether Congress will choose that solution.

By a 5-to-4 vote, the court decided a month ago that public school authorities must give a student an informal hearing before suspending him. Last week, by the same narrow vote, the court went a step further and ruled that a school board official may now be held liable for damages if "he knew or reasonably should have known that the action he took... would violate the constitutional rights of the student affected." As he had in the earlier case, former Virginia School Board Member Lewis Powell spoke for the dissenting Justices and worried whether, in light of the decision, "qualified persons will continue... to volunteer for service in public education." But the majority felt that qualified officials are well aware of students' rights and should act with the fairness called for by the 1871 Civil Rights Act. So it directed a lower court to determine whether two Arkansas high school students involved in a punch-spiking incident had been expelled without due respect for their constitutional rights.

SHOW BUSINESS & TV



HEPBURN & OLIVIER

Viewpoints: Love and the Bomb

When he was an impoverished law student and she a radiant Portia in a touring Shakespeare company, they spent three delirious days together. It was, Laurence Olivier says, the love of his life, exerting such a powerful hold that he had no choice thereafter but bachelorhood. Katharine Hepburn claims she can't remember a thing about it, but since he is now London's leading barrister, perhaps he will stop his nostalgic mooning and get on with the business of defending the excellent name and fortune she married. Can anyone, after all, seriously believe that she promised to marry an assistant purser of the *Mauretania*? Could any jury possibly uphold the purser's claim of £50,000 damages in a breach-of-promise suit?

It does seem improbable. One suspects from the beginning of *LOVE AMONG THE RUINS* (ABC, Thursday, March 5, 9 p.m. E.D.T.) that Hepburn's amnesia is a ploy, that Writer James Costigan will find a way for old love to conquer all. But who cares? His nostalgic Edwardian romance is just a charming conceit designed to bring Hepburn, 65, and Olivier, 67, together. The director is Veteran George Cukor, 75, whose cutting and camera placements impart a subtle tension (and an air of elegant craftsmanship) above and beyond the call of television duty. Indeed, all three conspire to make Costigan seem a much wittier writer than he is. Olivier can get laughs by snuf-

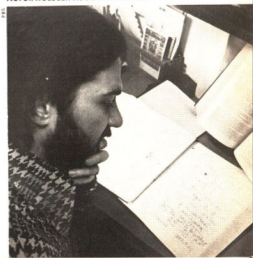
fling or shuffling the papers on his desk. Hepburn in a temper, or just making an entrance or exit, remains, as always, a great theatrical occasion.

Love Among the Ruins may merely be a vehicle designed for veteran talents to exercise the beguiling skills of their youth without risking self-parody, to kindle our nostalgia for the kind of sophisticated romantic comedy the movies used to provide routinely (and television never learned to do) without risking invidious comparison to the way things were. But it is perhaps TV's most delightfully thoughtful gift to viewers this season. ■ Richard Schickel

THE PLUTONIUM CONNECTION (PBS NOVA Series, March 9, 7:30 p.m. E.D.T.). It is no secret that ounces of plutonium—a byproduct of nuclear power reactors—could be used to produce a homemade atom bomb. To demonstrate that possibility NOVA commissioned a 20-year-old undergraduate chemistry student to try to design an A-bomb in five weeks, working alone and using only published information available to the general public. The result: a blueprint for a plutonium bomb with an estimated destructive capability of 100 to 1,000 tons of TNT. The student (portrayed by Actor John Holecck) describes the ease with which he mastered basic bomb making, sketching the structure of his bomb in a childlike doodle of two circles and a dot: "You explode the outer ring of TNT which squeezes the tamper which compresses the plutonium core, and boom." Could a similarly self-taught terrorist steal (or, as the experts on the program delicately put it, "divert") the needed plutonium?

A chilling answer to that question is given by the show's investigation of nuclear-plant security and the difficulties of keeping track of plutonium-containing nuclear wastes (one waste category is identified as GWK—God knows

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SHOW BUSINESS & TV

what). The danger of nuclear theft was explored earlier by CBS's *60 Minutes* (August 1973). But NOVA's exceptionally lucid and dramatic presentation shows that this complex problem demands persistent retelling.

■ Judy Fajard

Offstage Line

Jack Lyons, president of Bloomingdale Properties, a company that administers the department-store family's fortune, was recently watching a TV movie about a bank robbery. Suddenly his wife pointed at one of the robbers and asked, "Isn't that the man you're in business with in California?" By Dun & Bradstreet! The 6-ft.-plus, curly-haired crook on the screen was in fact the same fellow with whom Lyons had just concluded a six-figure real estate deal. "It was the first I knew he was an actor," says Lyons stoutly. "He had a proposition, and when we met to make the transaction, he was a totally professional businessman."

Salvage Cases. The actor in question was Wayne Rogers, 41, star of TV's *M*A*S*H*. When he is not playing the show's martini-mixing Army surgeon, Trapper John, Doc Rogers carries on with a different operation. As head of W.M. Rogers, Inc.—Managed Investments, he takes care of the financial affairs of half a dozen clients (among them Actors Peter Falk and James Caan) and deals with such financiers as Lyons and Los Angeles Industrialist Lawrence Weinberg. Insiders estimate that Rogers' company is worth several million dollars. His holdings—with Falk and others—include apartment buildings, office blocks and a 500-acre California vineyard—the largest planting of merlot grapes in the world.

Rogers got into the investment business ten years ago, he explains, partly to protect himself against show-business management sharks and partly to keep out of Hollywood's unemployment office. His first venture was the purchase of an office building in foreclosure, and he still follows the pattern of seeking out money-losing buildings and putting them back in the black. A few of his clients have also been salvage cases. Says Caan: "Wayne stepped in and pulled me up by the bootstraps."

As a business manager, Rogers pays his clients' bills, invests their money and handles their taxes. He is a specialist in tax shelters and, although self-taught in that field, now lectures on the subject at California C.P.A. seminars. Says Rogers: "I always tell my clients up front nothing is perfect. I'm human; I make mistakes." One recent slip-up was the loss of "less than \$100,000" in an Oklahoma oil well that wasn't.

There is none of *M*A*S*H*'s can-the-caduceus flippancy about Rogers-as-businessman. His investment philosophy, say his clients, is strictly "traditionalist." So is Rogers. Born William Wayne McMillan Rogers III, the



TV STAR WAYNE ROGERS
Can the caduceus.

son of a wealthy lawyer in Birmingham, Ala., Rogers in his youth was suitably Southern-comfortable: "I drank beer, chased girls and drove fast cars." Sent to a boarding school for "Southern incorrigibles" in Bell Buckle, Tenn., Rogers finally buckled down and eventually graduated from Princeton with honors.

At the end of a hitch on a Navy cargo ship, Rogers dropped in on a college friend who was directing a workshop production of Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*. "I thought, Here's a profession in which a) you must use your mind, b) you use yourself physically, and c) you're alive emotionally. How do I get into this?"

He enrolled in New York's Neighborhood Playhouse and acquired a Brooklyn accent while sharing an apartment with Falk. The two also shared a single borrowed raincoat, a *Colombo* precursor that hung to Falk's ankles and above Rogers' knees. Sixteen years of TV and small film roles later, he was cast in *M*A*S*H*.

Soul-Selling. After the show's three years of top ratings, Rogers can split figures dispassionately. In films, he figures, "I'm probably now worth about \$1.2 million to a producer—\$600,000 for TV sales, \$500,000 for foreign rights and maybe \$200,000 in U.S. distribution." He will stay in *M*A*S*H*—that is, unless Ingmar Bergman should decide to use him. "If Bergman were to phone, forget it. That's soul-selling time." As for Rogers, Inc., the forecast is for development of a parcel of land near Huntington Beach, Calif., and backing an inventor in the photocopying field. One investment conspicuously missing from the firm's projections is film making. "An actor who knows about money," says Rogers firmly, "does not put it into movies."

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av. per cigarette, FTC Report Oct. '74.



Cheating in Florida

There were enough hints that something was wrong. Two students had argued in class about the exact wording of questions on a final exam—even before the exam was handed out. Another student had complained to his professor that he could not have made a mistake on some math problems on a test because the answers for him in advance. But now the cheating scandal at the University of Florida is out in the open, and the campus is in a furor.

As many as 200 students—most of them from the school of business administration—are involved, and some of them have already appeared at secret hearings by a student honor court. Innocent students, afraid that the reputations of everyone now enrolled will be tarnished unless the guilty are identified, have sued the university to make the hearings public. As a result, the secret hearings have been temporarily suspended, amid general confusion.

Formal Charges. The scandal broke when an undergraduate told her professor that other students had bought stolen exams. (Under the university's honor code—dating to 1914—students are supposed to report cheating.) The professor checked his records, found that some D students were inexplicably getting A's, and went to the honor court. Paul Marmish, a third-year law student and the honor-court prosecutor, started an investigation; within two weeks he had filed formal charges against 63 students and said that many more might be guilty.

Marmish discovered that five student dealers, who each offered 16 to 18 different finals for as much as \$200 apiece, were the center of the cheating network. Says Marmish: "We called them exam supermarketiers. If one didn't have what you wanted, he could refer you to someone in the ring who did." To get the tests, the dealers had rummaged through trash bins outside classroom buildings, looking for ditto copies; they also broke into locked rooms, and at least one bribed a janitor (with an ounce of marijuana).

As the investigation widened, David Smith, editor of the *Independent Florida Alligator*, the student paper, demanded open hearings to protect the innocent students: "What of next June's graduates, who will carry through life a business degree whose mere date taints their character with suspicion?" Smith joined a law student and the editor of the Gainesville *Sun* in filing suit against the university under the state's Sunshine Law, which requires public agencies to hold open meetings when they take official action. Circuit Court Judge Robert Green Jr. then issued a preliminary

injunction to stop the student honor court from holding secret proceedings.

The university is appealing the injunction, insisting that the hearings should remain secret because "the disgrace of being convicted publicly by the honor court is too overwhelming." Whatever the outcome of the legal battle, Student Prosecutor Marmish is anxious to renew the investigation. Says he: "We want to get them all."

Choice in Quincy

The sleepy Mississippi River town of Quincy, Ill. (pop. 45,288) is an unlikely place for an educational mecca. Yet school administrators from as far away as Berkeley, Calif., Los Angeles, Boston and New York frequently tour the city's sprawling Senior High School II. For the past few years the school has been the site of conferences on educational alternatives that have been attended by 2,000 delegates from all over the country. What attracts the educators is Quincy's Education by Choice program, in which the high school is divided into seven separate subschools, each with different courses and styles of teaching. Quincy's 1,500 juniors and seniors can choose any one they wish.

With classes ranging from highly structured to almost totally free, Quincy probably offers more choice than any other high school in the U.S. At one end of the spectrum is the Traditional School. There, teachers hand out conventional assignments, deliver lectures and give grades; students sit in rows, take mostly required courses and call the teachers Mr., Mrs. or Miss. At the other extreme is the Fine Arts School, where students make their own weekly schedules, work at their own pace, call teachers by their first names, and have a choice of more than 50 courses, 28 of them arts-oriented. Among the others are such offbeat courses as *Coping with Death* and *Organic Gardening*. Some Fine Arts students are writing a blues rock musical; others tour the city in an old school bus and give free performances as a "School of the Street."

Quincy's other alternatives:

► **The Flexible School.** Similar to the Traditional School, but students can leave after the lecture each period to pursue individual projects if they have the teacher's permission.

► **The Project to Individualize Education (PIE).** Students select their own courses and determine how often they will attend classes. (As in the other schools, counselors are available to help students make their choices.) Students also may schedule themselves into encounter groups and independent studies.

► **The Career School.** Designed for students who will not go to college and plan to find a job after graduating from

high school. They attend regular classes half the day and work part time.

► **The Work-Study School.** Structured for students who are on the verge of dropping out and need extra help in academic subjects. The curriculum is divided into eight abbreviated periods to fit the students' shorter attention span, and students have part-time jobs after the regular school day.

► **The Special Education School.** For slow learners. It emphasizes vocational training, with courses in cooking, carpentry, masonry, auto mechanics, gardening and child care.

All in all, Education by Choice seems to be working. School Superin-



PHOTOGRAPHY CLASS AT QUINCY
Something for everyone.

tendent William Alberts says, "The community is happy with the way the alternative program has evolved." The students also seem to be pleased. Junior Sue Eaton, for example, was tempted by the PIE alternative, but recognized that she needed more discipline than it offered. On the other hand, she felt that she would quickly get bored in the Traditional School. "I needed a push," she says, "so the Flexible School seemed like a good middle ground for me. Every Wednesday we do a lot of different things out of the classroom. I can participate in community workshops or field trips or set up a rap session with a teacher. I like that variety."

Kelly Rupp, a straight-A senior, had taken so many courses in the PIE alternative that he could have gone to college after his junior year. Instead, he stayed in Quincy because "I couldn't learn as much in the first year at most colleges. Here I can go as far as I want."

The Pieman Cometh

The hit man is standing in a Los Angeles office building. His hands are shaking. "This is the last one," he croaks. "I'm so nervous I can't stand it." His accomplice, trimly dressed and wearing horn-rimmed glasses, is chewing his lower lip. "You'd think it would get easier with each delivery," he mutters. "But it doesn't."

A Mafioso massacre? A bank heist?

A CIA caper? In fact, the hired agents are armed with a cream pie. Their mission: to smash the pie into the face of a local office employee who is celebrating his 26th birthday. The two agents, hired by the celebrator's merry-minded boss for \$35 (pie included), are operatives of Pie Face International, one of a growing number of organizations across the country dedicated to the silliest U.S. fad since streaking: smashing pies into the faces of selected victims—for a price.

In the past few months Pie Face International has made some 60 successful deliveries in the Los Angeles area, hitting such celebrities as the Rev. Ike, Country Singer Diana Trask and Psychic Peter Hurkos. In Minneapolis, for the same amount of dough, Pie Kill, Ltd., has left more than a dozen victims pie-eyed. In St. Petersburg, Fla., Pies Unlimited has claimed 78 victims, among them the assistant metropolitan editor of the St. Petersburg Times, billing clients from \$50 to as high as \$300 per job. San Diego's whipped cream mafia, which charges only \$20, has scored 20 times, including a celebrated hit of a cable-television executive at a city council meeting.

Lighthearted Havoc. Many of the pientrepreneurs were inspired, and some actually franchised, by Manhattan-based Pie-Kill Unlimited, which has twelve operatives, has been in business for a year, and claims a face count of 178. Pie-Kill's manifesto, composed by Founder Rex Weiner, a pastry-faced 24-year-old, reads as if it had been collectively written by P.G. Wodehouse, James Bond and the Three Stooges. "Our high duty," it announces, "is to 1) stamp out pomposity; 2) uphold the virtues of surprise, randomness and chaos; 3) wreak light-

hearted havoc whenever and wherever possible; and 4) get away with it."

For \$40 the Pie-Kill client can take his choice of lemon cream, chocolate cream, banana cream and lemon meringue (the hardest to remove) pies, all of which emanate from a Manhattan bakery that, says Weiner, produces edible missiles of "just the right consistency—heavy and thick. Aerodynamically they are perfect."

Pie-Kill does not stop at artificial boundary lines. It has just made its first international hit. As Canadian Newscaster Keith Morrison was reading the headlines one morning last month in Montreal on a *Today*-style TV program carried live across Canada, Weiner splatted a whipped-cream pie across his face. Morrison was stunned, but quickly recovered and wiped the debris from his face; the creaming was rebroadcast on another nationally televised program a few days later.

More cities may soon feel the splat of the pie killers. For \$50, Weiner is offering to any taker a "franchise kit" explaining the *modus operandi*. In Los Angeles, Pie Face International's Don Murdock is processing applications from potential hit men in Detroit, Chicago and New York, and has already taken on two operatives to service the capital area. "In Washington," he says, "the politicians are so removed from the people it takes a pie in the face to get them back to reality."

Vindictive Females. Hit men seldom encounter hostility from their victims. "When you have pie all over your face," explains Weiner, "it's hard to do anything. You can't see and you can't breathe. So you just stand there and grin." But women, in general, do not react well. "They just don't like it one bit," says Murdock. "They aren't good sports." On the other hand, reports a Minneapolis Pie Kill operative, a majority of the clients are "vindictive females."

Recognizing the potential risk in their jobs, hit men often ape the tactics of their counterparts in organized crime, carefully timing and rehearsing their jobs, using accomplices to distract their victims, noting the nearest exits, and leaving cars at the curb with motors running.

At week's end, however, pie throwers across the country heard some unsettling news. In Minneapolis, Pie Kill Agent Jeffery Carpenter, 19, was arrested and charged with simple assault and breach of the peace for trying to pie a woman in a local doughnut store. Though the assault charge was later dropped, Carpenter was warned that he must stay on his best behavior for a year or face jail and a fine. Or, if justice is to be truly served, he might just be pasted with a lemon meringue pie.



Could a Connecticut hat maker uncover a market in Panama?

Yes, but in a small size. The value of U.S. hat exports to Panama last year was \$61,345.

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Defining Death

When is a human being actually and legally dead? Until a few years ago, physicians assumed that death occurred after the heart stopped beating. Now most doctors agree that an individual dies when the brain does, and last week the American Bar Association adopted a similar standard. As a guide to determining brain death, many doctors—and the Kansas and Maryland state legislatures—have adopted a set of standards suggested in 1968 by researchers at Harvard University. These require, among other things, that doctors wait at least 24 hours after an electroencephalograph (EEG) has shown no brain activity, then check again. If the second EEG is as flat as the first, the doctor can then assume that even if machines are keeping the patient breathing, his brain, and thus the patient, has died.

A study conducted for the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke now questions whether so long a wait is necessary. Dr. Benjamin Boshes, chairman of the department of neurology at Northwestern University and spokesman for the study group, says that a patient whose brain shows no activity for at least 30 minutes is "as dead as he ever will be." As a result, Boshes and his colleagues are proposing a new definition of death.

Grotesque Work. The study bases its recommendation on a long research project ("three years of the most gruesome work," according to Boshes) conducted by doctors from nine institutions under a grant from N.I.N.D.S. The researchers studied 503 seriously ill or severely injured patients whose brains had apparently stopped functioning. In each case, the doctors determined whether this lack of brain activity was caused by a drastically lowered body temperature, by drugs (tranquilizers, heroin, or barbiturates mixed with alcohol can result in a flat EEG), or by injuries or ailments. They also tested the patient's ability to respond to various stimuli (most unconscious people, for example, will blink at a loud noise) and found out whether they could breathe unaided. When temperature and drugs had been ruled out and there were no signs after 30 minutes that the brain was working, it was decided that a patient had indeed suffered brain death. Of 459 such patients, none recovered despite the efforts of their physicians. "It's life *ex machina*," says Boshes. "At that point, the only thing keeping anything alive is the respirator; the brain itself is irrevocably dead."

Boshes would like to see the new criteria replace those now used to determine death. So would many of his colleagues, who are urging that the suggested standards be made law in Il-

linois. This could reduce the delays that often occur in transplant operations, in which doctors generally wait 24 hours before taking organs from donors. It could also reduce the time that patients with no hope of recovery are now kept alive by machines—at great financial and emotional cost to their relatives.

Battle of the Bulges

Since 1973, some 200,000 U.S. women have spent \$12.95 for a book telling them how to get rid of a substance some call cellulite* (pronounced *cell-u-leet*), which supposedly accumulates beneath the skin to form unsightly dimples and bulges. Now thousands more, lured by television commercials, are shelling out \$5.95 for a paperback version of the same book. As a result, *Cellulite* (Bantam Books) is on some newspaper best-seller lists. Nutritionists, who consider the book's premises unsound though essentially harmless, are shaking their heads in amusement—or envy.

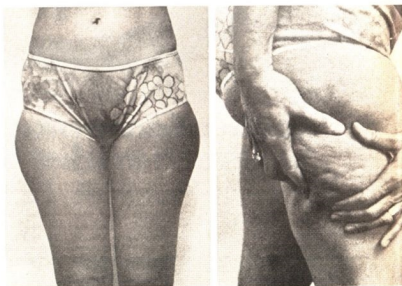
Written by Nicole Ronsard, 35-ish, an attractive Frenchwoman, the book speaks directly to women who worry about having dimpled flesh, "jodhpur thighs," "saddlebag buttocks" and other imperfections. These are caused, says Mme. Ronsard, by cellulite, which she defines as a gel-like substance made up of fat, water and wastes that becomes trapped in lumpy, immovable pockets just beneath the skin. Cellulite cannot be burned off by conventional diets, says Ronsard; even when poundage is pared away, this "superfat" remains.

*Not related to cellulitis, an inflammation of connective tissue.

To get rid of it, Ronsard, who studied *esthétique corporelle* (body aesthetics) at a Paris *école supérieure*, recommends a diet that eliminates those foods she believes will leave behind the "toxic wastes" that contribute to cellulite. The low-salt diet includes raw vegetables and fruit, skim milk, lean meats, poultry and fish. It also includes plenty of water to help flush out the system and foods chosen to assist the kidneys and digestive tract in the elimination of wastes. In addition, Ronsard recommends deep breathing, exercises such as jogging and gymnastics, massage to break up cellulite deposits, and relaxing to relieve tension.

Faulty Physiology. Doctors generally find fault with Ronsard's physiology. What the author calls cellulite is plain ordinary fat and certainly not toxic wastes, says Physiologist Marci Greenwood, a research associate at Columbia University's Institute of Human Nutrition. The dimpling effect, says Greenwood, often is caused by the loss of skin elasticity that occurs with aging. Nor is there any way to get rid of the dimpling. Exercise and proper diet may improve skin and muscle tone and make this excess adipose tissue less obvious, but it will not make it go away. Says Greenwood: "Body type, like hair color and the distance between your eyes, is inherited, and the same is true for the distance between your fatty deposits."

Although they reject Ronsard's rationale, most doctors consider her dietary suggestions healthful, and agree with her that American women should smoke and drink less, exercise more and learn to relax.



FRONT VIEW OF "JODHPUR THIGHS"

Faulty physiology but sound dietary suggestions.

TESTING FOR FATTY DEPOSITS

Total Fascination

A class of middle-aged women is practicing foot stomping. "That's right," says the teacher, "now walk briskly to the door, pause, lift your chin higher, and look back over your shoulder." The women are taking one version of a lesson in "How to be cute, even adorable when you are angry," an exercise the Fascinating Womanhood movement uses to bring husbands to heel.

Later the women will learn how to pound their fists on their husbands' chests in childlike rage. "Men love it," says the movement's founder and guru, Helen B. Andelin, 55. A devout Mormon, she developed her methods years ago when she felt her own marriage going sour. Now, after eight children and 32 years of marriage, her husband adores her, she reports, and even helps out at the Fascinating Womanhood Foundation in Santa Barbara, Calif. Eleven thousand teachers have been trained to teach feminine arts and craftiness the Andelin way in schools and churches across the country: in the past 14 years 300,000 women have taken the eight-week, \$15 course. Their primary text is Andelin's 1965 book, *Fascinating Womanhood* (Pacific Press, \$6.95), which has sold more than 400,000 copies, and is about to be issued in paperback. Students will be paying \$12.50 for a new kit that includes the paperback edition of *Womanhood*, plus such items as the Domestic Goddess Planning Notebook, for listing tomorrow's chores, and the Love Book, for scribbling down the endearments her husband will utter once the wife learns her lessons.

Righteous Power. Basically, Andelin preaches conservative Christian doctrine on the need for wives to submit to husbands. She also teaches a kind of psychic judo for women to use on their mates: give in to get what you want, because submissiveness will bring "a strange but righteous power over your man."

Beneath all Andelin's devotional trickery lies a core of compassion. For example, she suggests that before a wife tries to reform an alcoholic husband, she should fast for three days to get some idea of the pain withdrawal will cause him.

Andelin is not the only woman preaching a potent antifeminist message rooted in conservative Christian teachings. Her most popular rival is Marabel Morgan, 37, of Miami, a housewife and mother of two. Morgan's book, *The Total Woman*, released quietly in late 1973 by Fleming H. Revell, an obscure New Jersey publisher, sold 370,000 copies at \$5.95 to become the nation's top non-fiction bestseller in 1974. (It was missing from most bestseller lists because it was sold mainly in small-town shops and

RAL BERSON



RAY FISHER



FASCINATING WOMAN'S ANDELIN & TOTAL WOMAN'S MORGAN WITH THEIR SPOUSES
Sufficient men to be Presidents and not enough women to be good mothers.

bookstores unpolled by the list makers.)

Total Woman courses, which Morgan started four years ago, last only four weeks (one two-hour class a week) and cost \$15. Her students, who have included Singer Anita Bryant, the wife of Astronaut Frank Borman and those of a dozen Miami Dolphin football players, have been taught to find happiness by living entirely for their husbands. Like *Fascinating Women*, *Total Women* celebrate male dominance and depend on guile and sauciness to get their way, but they use sex more overtly than their Fascinating sisters.

A Total Woman is instructed to be ready for intercourse every night for a week, to try to seduce her husband in an unlikely spot like under the dining-room table or in the hammock. "He may say, 'We don't have a hammock.' You can reply, 'Oh, darling, I forgot.' If you are creative and imaginative, he'll love you for it." She should also try to greet her man at the door in "an outrageously sexy outfit." (The children get a kick out of this too, says Morgan.) One Southern Baptist woman wore only mesh stockings, high heels and an apron to welcome her mate home from work. She reports that her husband shouted, "Praise the Lord!" and finished his dinner very rapidly.

Other tips: put a sexy note in your husband's briefcase or lunch box and call him at his job to say "I crave your body." (One woman got the wrong number and found herself talking to her husband's startled friend.)

Some of the techniques for ending arguments are familiar to marriage counselors, for instance, making a list of your husband's best qualities and reading them off to him with enough embellishment to make him melt. But there are limits to profitable deceit. When one

wife said her Miami Dolphin husband complained at being asked to open all the food jars, Morgan replied sensibly: If his ego is that strong, only hand him the jars you really can't open.

One of the aims of both Morgan and Andelin is to get women out of competition with men, and Andelin says that many of her graduates quit their jobs unless the extra income is essential. "There are sufficient men to be Presidents and not nearly enough women to be good mothers," she declares. But whatever the movement owes to the anxieties raised by women's lib, Andelin insists she is not antifeminist. She is simply concerned with making traditional marriage work. "I was even surprised when women's lib came on the scene," she says. "I thought Fascinating Womanhood was what all women were waiting for."

Zoo Story

The Sacramento, Calif., city zoo has a problem. Two prize gorillas, Chris, a 350-lb. male, and Susie, a 150-lb. female, seem to want to mate but don't know how. At the age of nine, gorillas are supposed to know. Zoo officials acquired a Swiss film of gorilla sexual activities and staged the nation's first X-rated show for simians. Chris and Susie loved the lights and the projector but found the action unmoving. At another screening held for them last week, they paid attention to the plot, but officials detected no sign of arousal.

Undaunted, Zoo Director William Meeker has scheduled at least ten more showings of the film. He considered the use of human X-rated films but ruled them out. Said Meeker: "We were not sure we wanted to get our gorillas involved in some of those variations."

Jungle Habitat

A TIME TO DIE

by TOM WICKER

342 pages. Quadrangle, \$10.

The 1971 prison rebellion at Attica, N.Y., was part of a siege of domestic violence that began with the assassination of John F. Kennedy and continued in a demoralizing blur through the deaths of R.F.K., Martin Luther King, the flames of Newark and Watts, the bashing by (and of) war protesters, the torn victims of radical bombings, and the savage abbreviation of young lives at Kent and Jackson State.

Tom Wicker's career soared on such turbulence. As a correspondent for the New York Times, he distinguished himself in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963. As a liberal Southerner from Hamlet, N.C., he brought a blend of hard perception and raw emotion to the coverage of civil rights. He was also a workmanlike but disappointed novelist. When he became the Times's Washington bureau chief and later took over the retired Arthur Krock's "In the Nation" column it appeared that Wicker's metamorphosis into a gentleman-journalist was complete.

But Wicker does not seem to wear his prestige and rewards comfortably. He notes that he lives in a large house and is "affluent beyond his sense of decency." He guiltily admits that he is "a dissident, not a revolutionary." Up to a

point, he might even agree with Gay Talese's conclusion in *The Kingdom and the Power*—that Wicker "became caught up in the current of journalism, the daily opiate of the restless."

Wicker's involvement at Attica was anything but narcotic. Shortly after the rebellion began on Sept. 9, 1971, he was asked by prisoners to join a 37-man committee of observers to mediate and publicize their fight for better conditions and safeguard them against reprisal. Five days and 43 lives later, Wicker returned to Washington a haggard, angry and sad man—but a man who no longer was hesitant about using power "to force," as he says, "elementary humanity upon even greater power."

A Time to Die is both his attempt to re-create the experience in every detail, combined with an examination of the morality and responsibility of the observer in times of action. It is a book of extraordinary tension. There are the 1,500 Attica inmates, flushed with their initial victory yet frantic with the knowledge that their moment of freedom is doomed by the authorities' unchallenged power and willingness to kill them. The heavily armed guards and state troopers poised over D-yard, where the uprising was encamped, were inflamed by false rumors that the hostages were being beaten, even sodomized.

Open Racism. With more than 60% of the inmates either black or Puerto Rican, racism burned openly. White members of the observer committee were openly referred to by guards and townspeople as "nigger lovers." A black committee member was thrown out of a local diner. Both black and white observers, Wicker included, heard muttered threats from the guards and troop-

ers that when the shooting started, they would be the first to get it.

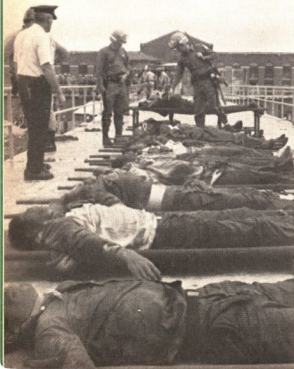
New York Congressman Herman Badillo, another observer, contributed the most famous and most pertinent summation of what eventually happened at Attica. "There's always time to die. I don't know what the rush was," he said, after six minutes of uncontrolled shotgun and rifle fire had killed ten hostages, 29 inmates, and left more than 80 wounded.

No Amnesty. Like many other witnesses, Wicker believes that the bloodshed and the brutal reprisals by guards and state troopers would have been postponed and possibly avoided if only New York State's Governor Nelson Rockefeller had agreed to come to Attica. At the time, Rockefeller said he did not believe he had the constitutional power to grant blanket amnesty to the rebels—especially since one of the guards had already died in the hospital after his skull was fractured at the beginning of the riot. In Rockefeller's action—a euphemistic order to "reopen the institution"—Wicker sees a man not "callous and careless of human life," but one dedicated to maintaining "the order of things."

Elsewhere, though, the author speculates that Rockefeller refused to come to Attica simply from fear of "voter reaction." During the crisis, Wicker had only one personal contact with the Governor. When he called him to describe the seriousness of the situation and to appeal for a meeting, the Governor suddenly interrupted him with what Wicker regarded as unnerving campaign enthusiasm: "I know you've all worked hard and taken great risks and I appreciate it. I really do. It's just great... Just great." Rockefeller was not the only one with an eye on his constituency.

Black Panther Bobby Seale flatly refused to present New York State Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald's settlement proposal to the prisoners. Why? Because, Wicker surmises, he did not want to appear to be dealing with the Man.

The cast of characters in *A Time to Die* is enormous. On both sides of the wall, gibberish and eloquence, madness and reason know no race, class or educational background. As Wicker watches political power dissipate through the state's bureaucracy and firepower build on the walls surrounding D-yard, the outcome—even in hindsight—looms with the inevitability of Greek tragedy. The impact of Wicker's book shatters the convenient forgetfulness that cocoons disturbing



WICKER AT ATTICA PRESS CONFERENCE

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0.8 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report OCT. '74.

BOOKS

memories. Even his thin, novelizing technique, which includes writing about himself in the third person singular and larding the narrative with bits of autobiography, does not lessen the book's overall effect. Whether Wicker was being a participatory journalist or a journalist participant matters little in the face of the events and issues that he at once confronts and manages to get down on the page in their wild, unpredictable state. He has written a book that even a disappointed novelist can be proud of.

■ R.Z. Sheppard

nounced coffee. Here are the diverse saints and satans of human history: Gandhi and Hitler, Leonardo da Vinci and Martin Bormann, Albert Schweitzer and Richard Wagner. In *The Vegetable Passion*, such celebrities are always less notable for their deeds than for their dinners. "Byron," observes Barkas, "noted poet and lover, practiced a meatless diet sporadically throughout his life, not because of deep ethical or political ideas, but out of vanity—to enable him to keep his weight down and preserve his thin, appealing figure, which was almost as

come literally a matter of life and death.

Doubtless on the great anthropomorphic ocean every swell believes itself the wave of the future. But given present populations and food sources, Barkas' prophecy seems valid: the vegetable passion is no longer a joke. It is likely to gain adherents and political significance in the next decades. There may even come a day when it provokes books of vigor and practicality instead of green, leafy prattle.

■ Stefan Kanfer

Playin' Jane

SANDITON

by JANE AUSTEN

and ANOTHER LADY

329 pages, Houghton Mifflin, \$8.95.

In 1817, only a few months before she died of Addison's disease at the age of 42, Jane Austen managed to start a new novel but had to break off after 26,000 words. The result was a fragment that would tantalize posterity. Though it jangled with a bumptious satire reminiscent of Austen's youthful burlesques, it seemed to project something both ambitious and new. When it was finally published in 1925 under the title *Sanditon*—named for the seaside resort town of its setting—E.M. Forster saluted the prescient way the book portrayed nature as "a geographic and economic force." Virginia Woolf said that if completed, *Sanditon* would have shown Austen to be a forerunner of Henry James and Proust.

But questions remained: Which of the half-dozen plots set spinning in the work's opening chapters would Austen have developed? How would the fore-runner of James and Proust have finished the novel?

This new version of *Sanditon* offers one solution. The original fragment has



HITLER AT TABLE—WITH 1941 LUNCH TRAY OF SALAD, EGGS, FRUIT & NONALCOHOLIC BEER

Green Thoughts

THE VEGETABLE PASSION

by JANET BARKAS

224 pages, Scribner's, \$8.95.

In *Pickwick Papers*, Charles Dickens introduces "an elderly pimply-faced, vegetable-diet sort of man . . . who seemed to be an essential part of the desk at which he was writing, and to have as much thought or sentiment." That caricature of the desiccated plant-eater still pervades the English-speaking world. The very language is meaty with bias. Imagine a Beaneater martini, a fatted kale, a yam actor, a string of Turnip 'n' Brew restaurants . . .

On this mountain of cultural prejudice, Janet Barkas has planted *The Vegetable Passion*, a monomaniacal history of herbivores from Neanderthal man to the Hare Krishna people. Between her gargyle book ends, this vegetarian convert presents a series of case histories. Each serves to dispel the notion that vegetable dieters are as alike as peas in a pod. Here is the early Christian theologian—and heretic—Origen, who castrated himself, and the American Benjamin Franklin, who did not. Here is Pythagoras, who denounced beans, and Horace Greeley, who re-

memorable as his strikingly handsome features."

Such effervescent reportage, unavailable since the demise of Louella Parsons, deadens the volume's central message. Healthy new comestibles are described in terms that instantly subvert the appetite: "The Pfizer Company has produced a product called Sure-Curd that is made from the parasitic fungus *Endothia parasitica*, a crystalline enzyme that . . . cuts in half the maturation time for Cheddar cheese." Moreover, the book's glossary of labels for meatless dieters is as discouraging as mock chopped liver: "ovo-lactarians" supplement their plant food with eggs and milk; "granivores" eat only seeds and grains; "fruitarians" consume only fruits; "vegans" refrain from utilizing any animal product whatever.

Yet beneath the jargon and gossip, a serious as well as topical undercurrent can be felt. *Should* animals be killed to feed humans? In the long run, is the consumption of 10 lbs. of grain to produce 1 lb. of beef an equitable or sensible ratio? Is the meatless meal a fashion, an ideal or a specter? These were once the narrow concerns of Victorian free thinkers like George Bernard Shaw or of pop nutritionists like Adelle Davis. But suddenly, in many societies, the question of a high-protein vegetable diet has be-



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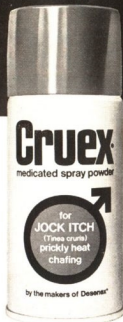
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BOOKS

been completed by "Another Lady," her anonymity coyly echoing the signature ("by a lady") on Austen's first novel, *Sense and Sensibility*. Austen, this Other Lady suggests, might have chosen to follow Charlotte Heywood, a shrewd country girl on a visit to Sanditon. Charlotte falls in love with a fellow from London named Sidney Parker and, after a minuet of polite rivalries, surreptitious coach journeys and misdirected letters, happily snares and is snared by him. In other words, most of the complexity, satire and social implications suggested by the *Sanditon* fragment (which ends on page 77 of this volume) might have melted away, leaving little more than an attractive historical romance.

Well, maybe. On the other hand, maybe Austen has once again fallen victim to her own cult, the Janeites. The Janeites take their author like warm milk at bedtime, cozily oblivious to the ground glass of her ironies and tough-mindedness. Perhaps only a Janeite would be capable of completing *Sanditon*—and this version is certainly a skillful pastiche—but at the same time, perhaps only a Janeite could so invert its value. In an afterword, the Other Lady praises Austen for the elegant escapism she provides from "the shoddy values and cheap garishness of our own age." Yet surely the Austen of *Emma* and *Persuasion* provides very little escapism from anything—including the shoddy values and cheap garishness of her own age as well as ours. Non-Janeites who agree may find the new *Sanditon* watery milk indeed. ■ Christopher Porterfield

*She is, in fact, Mrs. Marie Dobbs, an Australian-born journalist who has published a handful of novels under the name Anne Telcombe. Only one has come out in the U.S.: *The Listener* (1969).

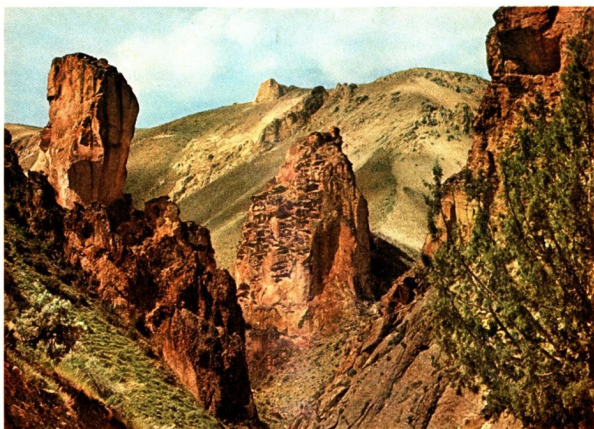
Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1—Centennial, Michener (1 last week)
- 2—The Seven-Per-Cent Solution, Meyer (2)
- 3—Something Happened, Heller (3)
- 4—Lady, Tryon (4)
- 5—The Pirate, Robbins (6)
- 6—The Ebony Tower, Faulkes (5)
- 7—Harlequin, West (9)
- 8—The Understudy, Kazan (8)
- 9—Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, le Carré (7)
- 10—Black Sunday, Harris

NONFICTION

- 1—The Palace Guard, Rather & Gates (2)
- 2—The Bermuda Triangle, Berlitz (1)
- 3—Strictly Speaking, Newman (3)
- 4—All Things Bright and Beautiful, Herriot (4)
- 5—Helter Skelter: The True Story of the Manson Murders, Bugliosi with Gentry (5)
- 6—The Bankers, Mayer (7)
- 7—Tales of Power, Castaneda (8)
- 8—The Ultra Secret, Winterbottom (6)
- 9—Supership, Mastert (10)
- 10—A Bridge Too Far, Ryan (9)



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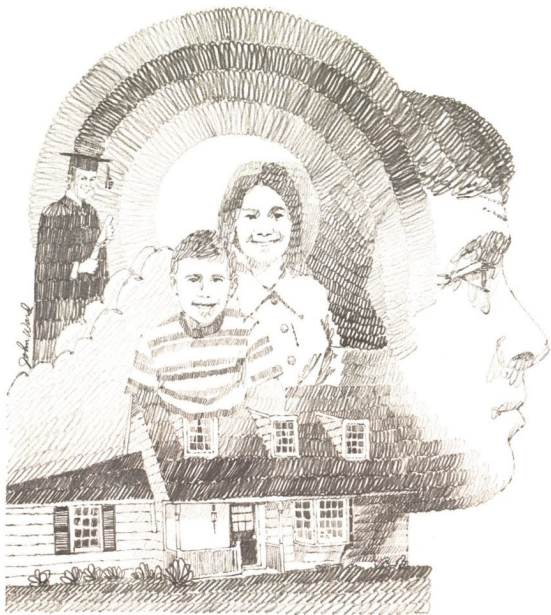
A poem called Eastern Oregon. Come fish our rivers. Feed our chipmunks. Listen for our sounds of silence. Pan for gold along our rivers like the sons of the pioneers. Stay in one of our historic old lodges. Or kick up your heels in one of our fancy dude ranch resorts. Sample our Oregon hospitality and ranch style food. Look for antiques in a ghost town. Or look for precious stones like rubies and agates and thundereggs.

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LUTHERAN MUTUAL

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The Messenger Passes

Throughout his controversial career, Elijah Muhammad was the nation's most potent preacher of black separatism. Yet when he died last week at 77, he was mourned as a statesman. Proclaimed Chicago's mayor Richard J. Daley: "Under his leadership, the Nation of Islam has been a consistent contributor to the social well-being of our city for more than 40 years." A New York Times editorial noted his movement's success "in rehabilitating and inspiring thousands of once defeated and despairing men and women."

Muhammad's recent respectability came not from the creed of his "Black Muslims," as they are known to outsiders, but from his "do for self" philosophy, which generated black enterprise. As much captain of industry as Messenger of Allah, Muhammad was the supreme ruler not only over 76 temples and some 50,000 to 100,000 disciples, but also over some 15,000 acres of farmland and a complex of small businesses that range from pin-neat restaurants to stores to a 500,000-circulation newspaper. Some estimate the worth of the Nation of Islam's business empire at \$75 million. The businesses all have a long-range object: to prepare for the day when Allah gives the nation its own land, perhaps a sizable chunk of the present U.S., which Muhammad predicted was doomed to collapse before 1984.

Vital Black. The movement began in 1930 when W.D. Fard, an itinerant silk peddler, founded a novel version of Islam that attracted thousands of poor Detroit blacks. After Fard disappeared mysteriously in 1934, leadership passed to Muhammad, who had been born Elijah Poole, the son of a Georgia sharecropper-preacher. When dispute erupted over the succession, Muhammad moved his base to Chicago and gradually built the Nation of Islam into a vital black separatist faith.

The theology of the Nation of Islam is significantly different from that of orthodox Islam, which has never been sure whether to recognize Muhammad's U.S. variant. Its black-supremacy views conflict with Islam's racial tolerance. Islam's fundamental tenet is that there is no god but Allah and Mohammed was his Messenger; the Black Muslims believe that Fard was Allah incarnate and that Elijah Muhammad was his Messenger. The Black Muslims deride the orthodox Muslims as "spooky believing" for holding that Allah is a spirit. To them, Allah is the Supreme Black Man among a race of divine black men. The rituals and practices of the Nation of Islam, however, are Muslim indeed: prayer five times daily facing Mecca, abstinence from pork and alcohol, no gambling and a puritanical sex code.



NEW BLACK MUSLIM LEADER WALLACE MUHAMMAD BEING HOISTED ALOFT BY DISCIPLES

Muhammad denied that he promoted hatred toward whites. If not hatred, it was contempt: whites were "the human beast—the serpent, the dragon, the devil and Satan." The white race, he taught, had been bred 6,000 years ago by a black scientist. In an insanely logical moment, the Nation of Islam once invited American Nazi George Lincoln Rockwell to a meeting and heard him laud Elijah Muhammad as the "Adolf Hitler of the black man."

In *The Black Muslims in America*, Sociologist C. Eric Lincoln says that "the entire movement is a kind of reserve fighting corps—ready to wage open war against the entire white community in case of white provocation." But Muhammad had mellowed in recent years. In his last public appearance a year ago, he even declared that the "slave master is no longer hindering us; we're hindering ourselves."

Rambling Inaugural. Though many killings have been blamed on the movement, Muhammad advocated non-violence except for self-defense. A number of the murder victims have been members of rival Muslim groups; one was Muhammad's onetime spokesman Malcolm X, who was assassinated in 1965 after he left the movement.

Many observers predicted a power struggle after Muhammad's death. But last week all seemed to be harmony as Son Wallace, 41, was proclaimed his father's preordained successor. Wallace had twice quit the faith, only to repent; while he tends to matters spiritual, others will mind the money. And after Wallace's boring, rambling inaugural speech, it seemed that no one man would fill the Messenger's shoes.

Good Death?

Q. What is forbidden in the Sixth Commandment?

A. The Sixth Commandment forbiddeth the taking away of our own life, or the life of our neighbor unjustly....

—Westminster Shorter Catechism

Though that phrasing is Presbyterian, all Christian denominations believe that suicide violates God's commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." Last week, however, the New York Times revealed that one of the world's pre-eminent Presbyterians, the Rev. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, 77, and his wife Elizabeth, 80, had carried out a suicide pact in January. The retired president of New York's Union Theological Seminary and Mrs. Van Dusen took overdoses of sleeping pills in their Princeton, N.J., home. She died quickly, but he vomited up the pills, was found and taken to a hospital, where he died last month of a heart attack.

Suicide is not unknown among clergymen, but typically the circumstances have been blurred by mental illness. Friends said that Van Dusen and his wife, however, were both of sound mind, and they left behind a note declaring that theirs was a responsible decision that "will become more usual and acceptable as the years pass."

Van Dusen had been a nonstop churchman, heading Union at its pinnacle of influence. He continued to be active in retirement until he suffered a stroke five years ago. Thereafter he had little pain and could walk with a cane, but his speech was largely incomprehensible—a severe frustration for a man



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THE VAN DUSENS WITH SONS (1954)
A suicide pact in Princeton.

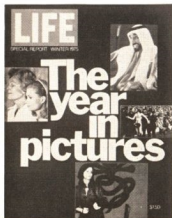
who had had great verbal skill. Although his wife had undergone two hip operations and suffered from arthritis, she was able to take a trip to Britain a month before her death. The Van Dusen pact, in other words, was not made under the extreme conditions of terminal illness that make many people sympathetic to euthanasia (which means literally "good death"). Rather, their letter stated, "we are both increasingly weak and unwell, and who would want to die in a nursing home?"

God's Hand. As an adviser of the Euthanasia Council, Van Dusen in 1967 proposed that the time might come when persons could decide to have their lives ended in cases of "total mental and spiritual disability." But he supported explicitly only the right to die without being kept alive by heroic measures—a view that Pope Pius XII held. This is called "passive" euthanasia, which in law and morality is treated totally differently from active euthanasia, or "mercy killing."

Many of the Van Dusen's friends, a *Who's Who* of liberal Protestantism, had discussed the possibility of suicide with them. Some opposed it, others did nothing to discourage it. The three Van Dusen sons are known to differ on the suicide pact, but colleagues were sympathetic last week. "I think they did the right thing," said Ethicist John C. Bennett, Van Dusen's successor at Union.

One of the most forceful statements in opposition came years ago from an illustrious Union alumnus, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was executed by the Nazis. "God has reserved to himself the right to determine the end of life, because He alone knows the goal to which it is His will to lead it," Bonhoeffer wrote. "Even if [a person's] earthly life has become a torment for him, he must commit it intact to God's hand, from which it came."

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